

MARCH 1957
VOLUME 37, NUMBER 4

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SOCIAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY

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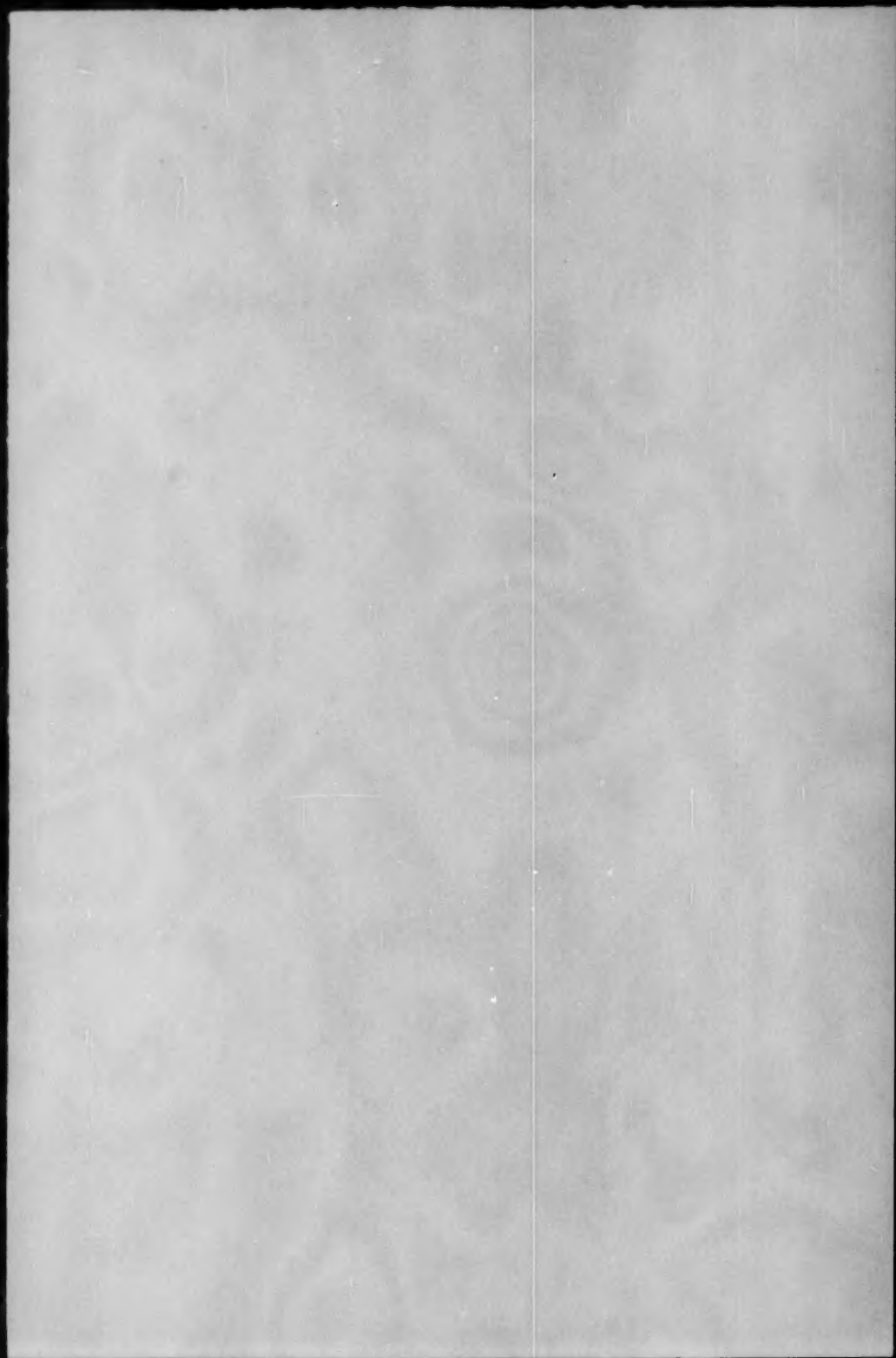
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Annual Convention Program

Published jointly by THE SOUTHWESTERN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION
and the UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS PRESS



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Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Austin, Texas, under act of March 3, 1879. Published quarterly.

THE SOUTHWESTERN SOCIAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY is the official organ of the Southwestern Social Science Association. The subscription price is \$5.00 a year or \$1.25 a copy to members; \$2.50 a year to students. Subscriptions to the QUARTERLY

and all membership payments should be addressed to the secretary-treasurer of the Association, Leon C. Megginson, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Any change in address should also be reported to the secretary-treasurer. All manuscripts should be addressed to the editor, Harry Estill Moore, University of Texas, Austin 12, Texas. Books for review should be sent to H. Malcolm Macdonald, Book Review Editor, University of Texas, Austin 12, Texas.

The QUARTERLY is indexed by the *Public Affairs Information Service* and the *International Index*.

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The Destalinized Stalinism

EDWARD TABORSKY

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WHEN THE DELEGATES TO THE TWENTIETH PARTY CONGRESS took their seats on February 14, 1956, prior to the seven-hour speech of their party's First Secretary, none but those closest to the inner circle of party leadership could have anticipated that he would seek to tamper with the Marxian-Leninist dogmas. Nor could they have had any inkling, when called into an unscheduled closed session after the official adjournment of the congress, that the man who only one year previously had used the name, prestige, and economic teachings of Stalin, and employed typical Stalinist methods to depose Georgy Malenkov, would now abruptly reverse himself and attempt to smash the Stalinist myth and denounce the former god of communism as having been virtually a paranoid criminal, responsible for torturing and murdering thousands of innocent victims of his phobia.

Thus Nikita S. Khrushchëv suddenly emerged as the party's chief theoretician and official interpreter of communist doctrine. Those speeches amount, in fact, to a major, though rather unconvincing, attempt at a revision of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, the first attempt of such magnitude since Lenin's days.

It is the purpose of this paper to review and analyze the post-Stalin shifts in Soviet communist ideology and to see what changes have been brought into its theoretical concepts since Stalin's death, especially by the history-making pronouncements at the Twentieth Party Congress.

The Strategy behind the Ascendancy of Theory

First an inquiry must be made into the place assigned to theory in the present Soviet communist system and strategy. Obviously, if theory played only an insignificant part in the present Soviet behavioral pattern, a discussion of the recent modifications of communist theoretical concepts would be unnecessary. How important, then, are considerations of theory to the present rulers of the Soviet Union in the pursuance of their objectives? Are they actually guided by ideological precepts, or do they set their practical aims first and fashion the doctrine to meet and justify them?

In the pursuit of his revolutionary activities, Lenin had to improvise a great deal and adapt Marxian teaching to specific Russian conditions. When

he realized, contrary to his earlier hopes and expectations, that the Bolshevik seizure of power in Russia would not be followed by communist victories elsewhere in the world, the need arose for further adaptations. Yet, in spite of the many zigzags of his revolutionary and postrevolutionary maneuvering, and in spite of the concessions forced upon him by the cogent demands of the situation, he always relied on theory for dependable guidance. "Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement," he wrote in *What Is to Be Done?* in 1902.¹ ". . . the role of vanguard can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by the most advanced theory." While occasionally reprimanding various of his associates for mistaking Marxism as a rigid dogma instead of looking to it as a "guide to action,"² he prided himself upon being the orthodox interpreter of the doctrine. His works, speeches, and debates, as well as his actions, bear ample evidence of the depth of his trust in Marx's theories.³

Nor was Lenin's almost limitless addiction to theory alien to the Russian temperament; it fitted perfectly into Russia's prevailing intellectual climate. As noted by every student of Russian thought and mentality, and masterfully shown in particular in T. G. Masaryk's classic *The Spirit of Russia*, the Russian temperament leans predominantly in the direction of doctrinal speculation, messianism, and the search for absolutes, and displays a tendency toward fatalism and extremism. What Berdyaev aptly calls "limitless social day dreaming"⁴ predisposes the Russians toward theoretical orthodoxy and subservience to doctrine.

Throughout the long years of Stalin's rule, the function of theory underwent a notable shift. Like his predecessor, Stalin considered himself the only authorized interpreter of Marxism and continued to emphasize the paramount importance of theory. "Theory . . . alone can give to the movement confidence, the power of orientation and an understanding of the inherent connection between surrounding events. It alone can help practice to discern not only how and in which direction classes are moving at the present time, but also how and in which direction they will move in the near future."⁵ He minced no words in censuring those comrades who, "engrossed in practical work," spurned Leninist theories. But records of his work, especially those in his latter years, clearly indicate that Stalin used doctrine primarily as a tool for upholding and strengthening party dis-

¹ *Selected Works* (New York, International Publishers, 1935-39), Vol. II, pp. 47-48.

² *Collected Works* (London, Martin Lawrence, Ltd., 1929), Vol. XX (Book 1), p. 119.

³ Stalin also stressed Lenin's dependence on theory: "Lenin knew better than anyone else the immense importance of theory, especially for such a party as ours . . ."—*Leninism* (New York, 1928), Vol. I, p. 95.

⁴ Nicolas Berdyaev, *The Origin of Russian Communism* (London, 1948), p. 25.

⁵ *Foundations of Leninism* (New York, 1939), p. 29.

cipline and as a pretext for eliminating those who disagreed with him or were not deemed loyal enough to him. While Lenin had had a deep and genuine regard for Marxist theories and searched Marx's and Engels' statements for guidance in solving the problems confronting him, Stalin seemed to be guided much less by regard for theory than by purely practical considerations. He used theories—if necessary—as justification or as pretext. In 1939 this downgrading of theory was given formal expression in the change of party rules adopted at Stalin's behest by the Eighteenth Party Congress. The earlier requirement that a candidate could not become a party member before "mastering" the party program was abandoned in favor of mere "acceptance" of the program and submission to the rules and discipline of the party.⁶ While in Lenin's day theory came first and Lenin second, in the latter part of Stalin's era the order was reversed. As publicly stated by various prominent Communists, loyalty to communism meant loyalty to J. V. Stalin.

Thus the role of theory in the Soviet system, shorn of much of its original significance during Stalin's rule, shrank in importance. From the august position of governing queen, theory sank to the much more modest stature of pliable servant. Inquiry into the fundamentals of Marxism drowned in the sea of enforced conformism. The earlier lively debates on theory were smothered by Stalin's ex-cathedra edicts—whose ideological validity was beyond anybody's questioning.

Stalin's death and subsequent downgrading removed the untouchable symbol of communist unity and *ipso facto* nullified the validity of loyalty to Stalin as the supreme test of a good Communist. As a natural consequence, the importance of allegiance to the party and to communist theory as the unifying bond of the communist movement increased, whereas that of personal fealty to an individual leader or leaders decreased. At the same time, Stalin's death deprived the communist creed of its archpriest and left vacant the position of the infallible interpreter of its dogma. With no single person having the absolute monopoly of deciding what was the correct line and what was heresy, the strait jacket of rigid orthodoxy was bound to be somewhat loosened. The oligarchical rule that replaced, under the label of "collective leadership," Stalin's one-man rule seemed to offer better opportunity for ideological inquiry and to open the door slightly more to genuine ideological debate, at least at higher levels of party hierarchy, than had the benumbing stranglehold of Stalin's despotism. This is especially true of its initial stages, when the membership of the oligarchy is still unsettled and fluid.

⁶ *Resolutions of the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)* (Moscow, 1939), pp. 45–46.

Indeed, shortly after Stalin's death, particularly during the period following Beria's arrest, voices decrying ideological rigidity made themselves heard, and in no time a veritable torrent of criticism spread all over the Soviet Union and spilled across the borders into the Kremlin's satellites.⁷ Led predominantly by writers, musicians, and artists clamoring for more creative freedom and less "institutional guardianship," the revolt against too much orthodoxy began to invade other fields of activity as well. Realizing the grave dangers inherent in the swelling crescendo of such criticism, Soviet leaders moved to a determined counterattack. The heads of the Propaganda and Agitation departments and the Science and Culture departments of provincial, territorial, and Union-Republican party committees, called into an All-Union Conference in January of 1954, were given strict directives by members of the Secretariat of the party's Central Committee—M. A. Suslov, P. N. Pospelov, and the then USSR Minister of Culture, P. K. Ponomarenko—to enforce everywhere unflinching adherence to Marxism-Leninism.⁸ Sharp warnings, demanding unflinching observance of Marxian-Leninist ideology and rebuking the most outspoken critics, began to appear in *Pravda*, *Kommunist*, and other periodicals.⁹ Some outstanding offenders were removed from the official positions that they held.¹⁰ Even some top members of the ruling oligarchy subsequently came under fire for having expressed deviate views and had to recant: Malenkov for having wrongfully emphasized light industry,¹¹ thereby committing the damnable sin of right-wing deviationism; and Molotov for having said that only the "foundations" for socialism had been laid in the Soviet Union, whereas the "correct" view was that the transition to socialist society in the USSR had already been completed.¹²

⁷ A long list of critical articles appeared in Soviet and satellite periodicals in 1953 and 1954. See, for instance, Ilja Ehrenburg in *Znamya*, No. 10, pp. 160 ff.; V. Pomerantsev in *Novy Mir*, No. 12, pp. 218 ff.; A. Khatchaturian in *Sovietskaya Muzyka*, No. 11, pp. 7 ff.; "Art under the New Course," *News from behind the Iron Curtain*, Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 23 ff.; the editorial in *Rudé Právo* (Czechoslovak Communist party daily), December 8, 1953.

⁸ For an extensive report, see *Izvestia*, February 2, 1954.

⁹ For a few examples out of many, see V. Vasilevsky in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, January 30, 1954; A. Surkov in *Pravda*, May 25, 1954; K. Simonov in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, July 17 and 20, 1954; also the resolution of the party's Central Committee sent to the All-Union Congress of Writers, *Izvestia*, December 16, 1954.

¹⁰ In April, 1954, N. Virta was expelled from the Union of Soviet Writers. In June, 1954, F. Y. Panferov and I. G. Panderin were dismissed from their respective positions as editor-in-chief and assistant editor-in-chief of *Oktyabr*. A. T. Tvardovsky was released as editor-in-chief of *Novy Mir*.

¹¹ D. Shepilov, "General Line of the Party and the Vulgarizers of Marxism," *Pravda*, January 29, 1955; and Khrushchëv's speech to the party's Central Committee, *Pravda*, February 3, 1955.

¹² Molotov "confession" in a letter published in *Kommunist*, No. 14, October, 1955.

Though pulling in different directions, both the post-Stalin strengthening of theory as a unifying bond and the symptoms of ideological ferment show that the importance of theory has been on the ascendancy in the Soviet Union since Stalin's death. It has not yet acquired so high a status as it had in Lenin's era. Most probably it never will, since so many major tenets of Marxism-Leninism are hopelessly outdated, a fact of which a great many Communists are well aware. But so long as the present oligarchical system lasts, theory is bound to play a more prominent role in the communist system than it did in the latter days of Stalin's rule.

Modest Beginnings Following Stalin's Death

Although considerable change had taken place in the wake of Stalin's death in personnel and the organizational pattern of the highest party and government organs, the party's theoretical foundations were at first left intact but for two highly significant exceptions: the principle of leadership, and the relation of heavy industry to light industry.

Barely a month had passed since Stalin's embalmed body had been laid alongside Lenin's when a determined campaign broke out condemning "the cult of the individual" and extolling the virtues of "collective leadership." *Pravda* set the new tone as early as April 16, 1953, in L. Slepov's article "Collectivity Is the Highest Principle of Party Leadership," and has continued ever since to hammer the collective-leadership idea into the minds of its readers. Perhaps the most important statement on this subject prior to the Twentieth Party Congress is contained in the Communist Party Manifesto of July, 1953: "The Party teaches to observe strictly the supreme principle of Party leadership—collective leadership. . . . It is necessary to eradicate from the Party's propaganda work incorrect, un-Marxian treatment of the question of the role of the individual personality in history, a treatment taking the form of propaganda alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism." It rejected the cult of the individual leader as "contrary to the principle of collective leadership" and expressed the belief that "only the collective experience and collective wisdom of the Central Committee, resting on the scientific foundations of Marxist-Leninist theory and the broad initiative of the command personnel, ensures correct leadership of the Party and country."¹⁸

Although Stalin was not cited as the culprit in these and many similar statements throughout 1953 and 1954, it was beyond the slightest doubt that the target of criticism was his one-man dictatorship. This was further confirmed by the abruptness with which the glorification of Stalin

¹⁸ *Izvestia and Pravda*, July 26, 1953.

ended once the funeral eulogies were over. His name, formerly repeated endlessly and never without the most adulatory epithets, ceased to be mentioned except on a few occasions in 1953, and even then mostly in a purely historical connection and well below Lenin's. In striking contrast to 1952, in December of 1953 the anniversary of his birth was allowed to pass without notice. His partial restoration to grace in 1954-55 was due mainly to Khrushchëv's need to defeat Malenkov and his alleged heavy-industry-first camp by reminding the communist public of the "correct" Leninist-Stalinist emphasis on capital production.

Why Stalin's heirs were in such a hurry to deal with this particular aspect of the doctrine hardly requires explanation. They were prompted much less by any real belief in the intrinsic value of collective leadership over one-man rule than by practical necessity. Since there was no one man among them who could take over where Stalin left off, an open clash could be prevented only by replacing the dictatorship by an oligarchy of the top contenders. As had been customary in Stalin's day, theoretical considerations were brought into the picture mainly for the purpose of *ex post facto* justification.

Purely practical considerations rather than any genuine desire for tampering with theory were also behind the 1953 professed shift of emphasis from heavy to light industry. Malenkov's call for "a sharp improvement of the production of consumer goods" and for "further development of light and food industries"¹⁴ in what must have been the most popular speech of his career, could *per se* hardly have qualified as a change in ideology. For he continued to refer to heavy industry, in orthodox Leninist-Stalinist fashion, as the "foundation of foundations of socialist economy." But the highly dramatic manner in which his pronouncement was made, the unusual language in which it was couched, speaking as it did of the "right" of Soviet people to "demand . . . durable, well-finished and high-quality articles" in adequate quantities, and the bombastic propaganda build-up that followed it all over the Soviet world, gave it the semblance of at least a slight doctrinal readjustment. Even the semblance proved to be ephemeral. In December, 1954, and January, 1955, a resolute campaign was launched, under the leadership of Khrushchëv, against those who had deviated from the "correct" Marxian-Leninist attitude toward heavy production. On January 24, 1955, on the eve of the session of the party's Central Committee that was to decide on Malenkov's demotion from premiership, *Pravda's* editor-in-chief and one of the staunchest supporters of Khrushchëv, D. Shepilov, wrote a stunning attack on the "vulgarizers of Marxism."¹⁵ He took sharply

¹⁴ *Pravda*, August 9, 1953.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, January 24, 1955.

to task "the authors of the idea that the country entered a new stage of economic development in 1953 with emphasis transferred to the development of light industry." Invoking, significantly, Stalin's ideas, Shepilov accused the yet-unnamed culprits of "a crude distortion of Marxist-Leninist economic theory." The matter was clinched at the ensuing meeting of the party's Central Committee in February, 1955. Appearing for the first time in the new role of the defender of doctrinal purity, Khrushchëv lashed out at the "woebegone theoreticians" who, "relying on a wrong and vulgarized interpretation of the basic economic laws of socialism," were "trying to prove that at a certain stage of socialist construction the development of light industry can and must outstrip all the other branches of industry."¹⁶

Adaptations of Theory by the Twentieth Party Congress

Khrushchëv's excursion into the field of theory at the February, 1955, meeting of the party's Central Committee was a mere roadside picnic compared to the ideological safari that he undertook at the Twentieth Party Congress just a year later. In his seven-hour report he took under scrutiny several important tenets of the Marxian-Leninist doctrine, restating some of them, rephrasing others, and readjusting a few to meet the changed conditions. In one stroke he thus asserted himself as the guiding theoretician of the post-Stalinist "New Look." Since all the other speakers of the congress, from Bulganin down, repeated almost literally, whenever they touched upon theory, Khrushchëv's theoretical dicta, which were also subsequently and unanimously endorsed by the whole congress, Khrushchëv's exposé represents the present official party line on Marxism-Leninism. What are its main precepts?

The collective-leadership principle.—Though already emphasized and re-emphasized on innumerable occasions since Stalin's death, the "Leninist principle of collective leadership" figured principally in the ideological pronouncements at the Twentieth Congress. Not only did Khrushchëv develop the theme at length in his report, but all the other party leaders felt impelled to include it in their speeches, no matter what their topics were. No member of the party's Presidium could open his mouth without reasserting in superlative terms the excellence of collective leadership and expressing disgust at the previous un-Marxian "cult of the individual." Quite obviously, this repetitiousness was intentional and was designed to convince the public on either side of the Iron Curtain that the abandonment of Stalin's dictatorial malpractices was permanent and that all the present party leaders were committed to preventing one-man rule from rising again. This was also the

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, February 3, 1955.

purpose of Khrushchëv's gruesome story of Stalin's abuses, told after the formal adjournment of the congress.

Different roads to socialism.—Having already alluded during his visit to Belgrade in April, 1955, to the acceptability of ways other than the Soviet of attaining socialism, Khrushchëv further expounded the matter at the Twentieth Congress: "In view of the fundamental changes in the world arena, new prospects are also opening up in regard to the transition of countries and nations to socialism. . . . It is quite likely that the forms of the transition to socialism will become more and more varied" and "achieving these forms need not be associated with civil war under all circumstances."¹⁷ In this connection Khrushchëv even conceded the possibility of employing the parliamentary form of transition, a form that could not be used by the Russian Bolsheviks:

By rallying around itself the toiling peasantry, the intelligentsia, and all the patriotic forces, and by meting out a determined rebuff to opportunistic elements incapable of abandoning a policy of conciliation with the capitalists and landlords, the working class has the possibility of inflicting a defeat on the reactionary anti-popular forces and of gaining a firm majority in parliament and of converting it from an organ of bourgeois democracy into an instrument of genuinely popular will. In such an event, this institution, traditional for many highly developed capitalist countries, may become an organ of genuine democracy, of democracy for the working people. The winning of a firm parliamentary majority, based on the mass revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the working people, would bring about for the working class of a number of capitalist and former colonial countries conditions ensuring the implementation of fundamental social changes.

Use of violence.—The changed conditions that opened up "new prospects" for other methods of transition to socialism also affect, in Khrushchëv's thinking, the traditional role of violence in communist strategy:

The enemies like to depict us Leninists as advocates of violence always and everywhere. True, we recognize the necessity for the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society into socialist society. This is what distinguishes revolutionary Marxists from reformists and opportunists. There is not a shadow of doubt that in a number of capitalist countries the overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship by force and the aggravation of the class struggle connected with this are inevitable. But there are different forms of social revolution and the allegation that we recognize force and civil war as the only way of transforming society does not correspond to reality. Leninism teaches that the ruling classes will not relinquish power of their own free will. However, the greater or lesser degree of acuteness

¹⁷ Published in *Pravda*, February 15, 1956. For an English translation, see *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, Vol. III, Nos. 4-6.

in the struggle, the use or not of force in the transition to socialism, depend not so much on the proletariat as on the extent of the resistance put up by the exploiters, and on the employment of violence by the exploiting class itself.

Shorn of their dialectical verbiage, Khrushchëv's arguments can be reduced to a simple formula: Violence will be used only as a last resort if other "forms of transition to socialism" fail to bring the desired results.

The inevitability of war.—While condoning violence in the form of "class revolutionary struggle" and retaining it as a sort of gun behind the door and, if need be, the ultimate weapon, Khrushchëv did emend, in a somewhat oblique fashion, the "Marxist-Leninist precept that wars are inevitable so long as imperialism exists":

This thesis was evolved at a time when (1) imperialism was an all-embracing world system, (2) the social and political forces which did not want war were weak, insufficiently organized, and hence unable to compel the imperialists to renounce war . . . when the Soviet Union was the only country pursuing an active peace policy, when other great powers to all intents and purposes encouraged the aggressors, and the right-wing Social Democratic leaders had split the workers' movement in the capitalist countries. . . . For that period, the above-mentioned thesis was absolutely correct. At the present time, however, the situation has changed radically. Now there is a world camp of socialism which has become a mighty force. In this camp the peace forces have not only the moral but also the material means to prevent aggression. There is a large group of other countries, moreover, with a population running into many hundreds of millions, which is actively working to avert war. The workers' movement in the capitalist countries has become a tremendous force today. The movement of peace supporters has sprung up and developed into a powerful factor. . . . Today, there are mighty social and political forces possessing formidable means to prevent the imperialists from unleashing war and, if they try to start it, to give a smashing rebuff to the aggressors and frustrate their adventurist plans.

While holding the Leninist thesis that imperialism gives rise to wars, Khrushchëv nevertheless did concede that war is no longer inevitable.

Peaceful coexistence.—Rebuking those who allege that the Soviet Union "advocates the principle of peaceful coexistence merely out of tactical considerations," Khrushchëv gave three reasons why this is not so and why peaceful coexistence is "not a tactical stratagem but a fundamental principle of Soviet foreign policy": (a) the fact that the Soviets "have stood for peaceful coexistence with equal firmness from the very first years of Soviet power"; (b) the fact that they "have not interfered or do not plan to interfere in the internal affairs of countries where the capitalist system exists," since "the establishment of a new social order in one or another country is the internal affair of the peoples of the countries concerned," and "it is

ridiculous to think that revolutions are made to order" or can be "exported"; (c) the belief that "the working people on earth, once they have become convinced of the advantages communism brings, will sooner or later take the road of struggle for the construction of socialist society."

Co-operation with Social Democrats.—The formal renunciation of the Soviet road as the sole correct road toward socialism, the de-emphasis of the role of violence, and the stress on collective leadership removed some of the major bones of theoretical contention between Soviet communism and democratic socialism. Having thus made the communist theory more palatable for Western socialists, Khrushchëv, quite logically, invited them to co-operate:

Co-operation with those circles of the socialist movement adhering to other views than ours on the forms of transition to socialism is possible and necessary. . . . Today many Social Democrats stand for active struggle against the war danger and militarism, for *rapprochement* with the socialist countries, for unity of the workers' movement. We sincerely greet these Social Democrats and are ready to do everything possible to unite our efforts in the struggle for the noble cause of the defense of peace and the interests of the working people.

What Is New in Khrushchëv's Pronouncements?

Having summarized the main theoretical precepts enunciated at the Twentieth Party Congress, let us now see whether they differ from previously held dogma. If we take Khrushchëv's words at full face value, the congress cleansed communist theory of the harmful distortions forced into it by Stalin, and restored Lenin's teaching in its original purity. Indeed, the major exposés by Khrushchëv and the speeches delivered by all the other leading members of the ruling Soviet junta are replete with adulatory references to Lenin and panegyrics to the principles he advocated. So is the resolution on overcoming the cult of the individual leadership and its consequences, passed by the Central Committee of the party on June 30, 1956.¹⁸

Yet, all these endeavors to absolve Soviet communism of Stalinist vices by a return to Marxism-Leninism run afoul of one unsurmountable obstacle: though undoubtedly leaving his mark on communist practice, Stalin added next to nothing to the *theory* of Soviet communism as it had developed under Lenin. On the contrary, he must be considered as having followed Lenin's teaching as faithfully and as docilely as changing conditions permitted. In fact, the label of "a great continuer of the cause of V. I. Lenin," posthumously pinned on Stalin in the eulogies on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday in December, 1954,¹⁹ befits him infinitely more than the present

¹⁸ *Izvestia*, July 3, 1956.

¹⁹ V. Kruzhkov, "Great Continuer of the Cause of V. I. Lenin," *Pravda*, December 21,

scathing and totally undeserved indictment of "betrayal" of the Leninist course. The difference between Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism and just plain Marxism-Leninism being only razor-thin, so far as theoretical concepts are concerned, one can well imagine how difficult it is for Stalin's ungrateful heirs to vindicate "Leninism" by ridding it of "Stalinism." How can the nature of merchandise be changed by a mere change of label?

Collective-Leadership Principle

It is in their indignant denunciations of the "cult of the individual" and their vociferous adherence to the "Leninist principle of collective leadership" that Khrushchëv and company have come nearest to validating a legitimate claim of having reversed Stalinism. But even there it is the practice rather than the theory that has been revised. Though practicing ruthless one-man dictatorship and converting all party organs into subservient tools of his will and whim, Stalin always took great pains to stress publicly that he was only carrying out the decisions reached by appropriate party organs, especially those of the Central Committee. Except for the overlong delay between the Eighteenth and Nineteenth party congresses, caused to no small extent by the war and its aftermath, he called the prescribed party meetings fairly regularly, and subjected himself and his acts formally to their scrutiny and approval. He continued to abide in form by the Leninist principles of democratic centralism, intraparty democracy, and majority rule. Although Khrushchëv's bill of particulars shows that Stalin himself was instrumental in his own glorification, Stalin nevertheless on several occasions publicly declined praise, and reprimanded the comrades professing it.²⁰ In starting its post-Stalin attacks on the cult of the individual by Slepov's article on April 16, 1953, *Pravda* had no qualms about mobilizing the dead Stalin in support of the new-old collective deity. Recalling the words of praise that Stalin used in 1931 in "speaking of the great role of our party's Central Committee as an organ of collective leadership," it quoted him as having said: "The wisdom of our Party is concentrated in this Areopagus. Each one has the opportunity to correct anyone else's individual opinion or proposal, each one has the opportunity to bring in his own experience."

Hence, so far as theory goes, the recent emphasis on collective leadership does not amount to such a reversal as the present rulers want the world to believe. Nor can it be said, if we look at the practical application alone, that the situation has reverted in this respect to what it used to be in Lenin's day.

1954; F. Konstantinov, "Great Continuer of Lenin's Immortal Cause," *Izvestia*, December, 21, 1954.

²⁰ The present writer witnessed such occurrences when he accompanied the late President Eduard Beneš of Czechoslovakia on his political visits to the Kremlin in 1943 and 1945.

Then, even at the peak of Lenin's prestige, heated discussions on all major matters of party policy used to take place within and without party organs, especially in the Central Committee, and often major decisions were taken by a closely split vote,²¹ with the outvoted minorities having ample opportunity to continue the struggle for their opinions and to seek the support of the party rank and file. On the other hand, the Khrushchëv-Bulganin era has thus far been almost entirely devoid of such actions as would make "the Leninist principle of collective leadership" a reality. The proceedings of the Twentieth Party Congress were dominated by the same rigid conformity as those held during Stalin's despotism. There was no controversial debate, no clash of opinions, no opposition. All decisions were taken by unanimous vote. Even Khrushchëv's attempt to tamper with communist theories—always a fruitful topic for spirited arguments in Lenin's days—failed to provoke any real discussion, and Khrushchëv's theses were accepted with as little challenge as those of Stalin. The delegates' behavior was so sycophant toward party leadership that Khrushchëv had to announce: "The Presidium has requested that the delegates not applaud every time we enter. Behave in the communist way and show that you are masters of this Congress."²¹

Nor has there been any evidence up to this time that party leadership between the congresses resides in the plenum of the Central Committee—as it would if the principle of collective leadership and party statutes were really implemented. From what is known about meetings of the Central Committee, it would appear, rather, that it accepts obediently whatever is recommended by the small leading group of the party's Presidium. That has been true even in such far-reaching matters as the liquidation of Beria and his associates, the demotion of Malenkov, the censure of Molotov for his ideological slip-of-the-tongue—matters that would have led to the sharpest exchange of views in the Central Committee of Lenin's day.

Thus, both in theory and practice, the professed adherence of Khrushchëv *et al.* to the collective-leadership principle has so far barely scratched the surface of Stalinism. What has happened in essence is that the dictatorship of a few has replaced the dictatorship of one. In Khrushchëvist semantics, "collective leadership" means "oligarchy."

Peaceful and Forcible Methods of Transition to Socialism

With one exception, to be considered below, the same tune was sung by Khrushchëv's choir in all the other theoretical concepts brought before the congress. Only the harmony has been slightly adapted to make the melody more mellow. Indeed, all that Khrushchëv and associates have to say on such

²¹ *Time*, February 27, 1956.

cognate matters as the use of violence, revolution, war, and peaceful co-existence sounds quite familiar to those who have not forgotten what both Lenin and Stalin said and wrote on such topics.

All three successive leaders of world communism—Marx, Lenin, and Stalin—believed that violence of varying degrees will have to be used to attain universal victory for communism. However, all three admitted on different occasions that under certain circumstances nonviolent transition could occur, and would even be preferable. Marx conceded in his later years that in some countries the transition to socialism could be attained "by peaceful means." Speaking in 1872 at Amsterdam, he made such an allowance for England and America. Though Lenin declared in his *State and Revolution* that "this exception made by Marx" was "no longer valid" by 1917, even he expressed the opinion that "all nations will achieve socialism . . . but not all of them will do so in exactly the same way and each will contribute something of its own."²² In his reference to Lenin's ideas on the matter of transition to socialism, Khrushchëv pointed out that in April, 1917, "Lenin granted the possibility that the Russian revolution might develop peacefully" and that the subsequent resort to arms was forced upon him (Lenin) because of the counterrevolution, intervention, and civil war "organized by the Russian and international bourgeoisie." A similar statement was made by Mikoyan, who went on to say that "Lenin always emphasized that the workers' class would prefer, of course, to take power into its own hands peacefully."²³ Writing in 1928, Stalin in his turn also held, as had Lenin, that Marx's allowance for a peaceful transition to socialism had been applicable only at the time when "imperialism was in its infancy."²⁴ Nonetheless, in the same volume he did admit the possibility of a "peaceful transition" in certain capitalist countries where the capitalists, confronted with an unfavorable international situation, might deem it advisable "of their own accord to make extensive concessions to the proletariat."²⁵ Similarly, in his famous talk with Harold Laski later on, Stalin conceded "two roads to socialism,"—the shorter but more difficult Russian road, which involves bloodshed; and the longer "parliamentary method," which does not involve bloodshed.

Thus a long time before Khrushchëv made his statement, communist theory had already accepted a "nonviolent" transition to socialism as a possibility. It is only because of changed world conditions that Khrushchëv could express himself more hopefully in that respect than had his predecessors. What really matters, though, is not to search for hair-splitting differences in

²² V. I. Lenin, *Sochinenia*, Vol. XXIII, p. 58.

²³ *Pravda*, February 18, 1956. Lenin's quotations taken from *Sochinenia*, Vol. IV, p. 254.

²⁴ *Leninism*, Vol. I, pp. 116–18.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

the dicta of various communist theoreticians, but to ascertain as precisely as possible what communist leaders mean by "peaceful" or "nonviolent" transition. Mikoyan cautioned that nonviolent seizure of power by the proletariat should not be confused with "reformism." To make his position crystal-clear, he quoted, of all things, the Czechoslovakian coup as a splendid example of such a transformation by "peaceful means." Since it is well known to all students of world affairs by what methods and techniques the Communists did take control of Czechoslovakia in February, 1948, Mikoyan has revealed how Stalinist the attitude of the present leadership continues to be, its bitter condemnation of Stalin notwithstanding.

A similar absence of any new features is apparent in the Khrushchëvist formula for "peaceful coexistence." The party's First Secretary did nothing more than repeat what Stalin and other Soviet spokesmen had said on the topic time and again.²⁶ He vitiated whatever persuasiveness his reassertion might have had by referring to past Soviet practice to prove that peaceful coexistence is not just a tactical stratagem but a permanent and fundamental principle of Soviet communist foreign policy. No one expected Khrushchëv, of course, to repudiate the notorious Stalinist interference with other nations' affairs, thus publicly admitting the nature of the Soviet conquest and incriminating his own country. But it would have been more reasonable on his part not to attempt to support his statement by insisting that peaceful coexistence had been advocated "with equal firmness from the very first years of Soviet power" and that the Soviet Union had never interfered in internal affairs of other nations. While abjuring Stalinism, he was in the same breath assuming the burden of the Stalinist legacy in foreign policy.

It is in the stand he took toward the Leninist concept of the inevitability of war between socialist and capitalist camps that Khrushchëv's formula really deviates from the grand master's teaching. Throughout his whole political career, Lenin consistently held that armed collision between the world of communism and that of capitalism is historically inescapable. "... the existence of the Soviet Union side by side with imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable," he reported to the Eighth Party Congress in March, 1919.²⁷ "One or the other must triumph in the end. And before that end supervenes, a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet Republics and the bourgeois states will be inevitable." His sole concern was to delay such a war or wars "until the conflicts between the imperialists weaken them still more and bring the revolution in other countries still nearer."²⁸

On a number of occasions Stalin expressed identical convictions²⁹ and

²⁶ Stalin's reply on May 17, 1948, to a letter from Henry Wallace.

²⁷ *Selected Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 33.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 353.

²⁹ *Leninism*, Vol. II, p. 71.

continued to adhere to them even after the Second World War. In his political testament, *The Laws of Socialism in the USSR*, he again upheld the validity of Lenin's thesis that imperialism gives birth to wars, rebuking those who considered the thesis as obsolete on the ground that "powerful people's forces have grown up which are taking a stand in defense of peace."⁸⁰ It is true that on a few occasions Stalin expressed himself as against the tenet of the inevitability of war. But such statements were either addressed to noncommunist audiences—for instance, his letter to Henry Wallace in May, 1948—or else so equivocally circumscribed and riddled with such restrictive phrases as "at least at the present time"⁸¹ that a good Communist could easily reconcile them with the standing official doctrine to the contrary. In any case, Stalin never said flatly that that part of Lenin's teaching which holds that war between capitalist and communist systems is inevitable is no longer valid.

Therefore, Khrushchëv's pronouncement that there is no fatalistic inevitability of war, stated as it is with fewer ambiguities than was true of similar dicta in Stalinist days, amounts to a sort of amendment to one of the major and most time-honored tenets of Marxian-Leninist theory. Let me hasten to add, however, that praiseworthy as this belated emendation may be, it brings but slight comfort. Quite irrespective of the fact that the "creative application" of Marxism, again emphasized by Khrushchëv, permits a shift back to previous theories whenever that may be helpful to the cause of communist victory, Khrushchëv's manifesto relies on what it calls an "acute class revolutionary struggle" if and when such becomes necessary. Furthermore, the chameleon nature of the term "war" in communist terminology means that the distinction between "war" and "acute class revolutionary struggle" is hopelessly blurred. Such actions as the North Korean attack on South Korea, Ho Chi Minh's operations in Indochina, support of Greek communist guerrillas, seizure of the Baltic states by the Soviet Union, and the armed intervention in Hungary are simply not considered acts of war by the Kremlin rulers but as part of the revolutionary class struggle. Hence, even the emended Khrushchëvist formula holds them to be non-warlike and therefore utterly legitimate means of solving relations between the communist and capitalist worlds.

Refurbishing the "Popular Fronts"

While the new theory of the evitability of war departs not only from the teaching of Lenin but to some extent also from that of Stalin, Khrushchëv's

⁸⁰ See English text in Leo Gruliov, *Current Soviet Policies* (New York, 1953), p. 8. Stalin was dealing in this instance, however, with the inevitability of wars between capitalist countries.

⁸¹ *Pravda*, February 17, 1951.

call for co-operation with the Social Democrats is nothing but a renewal of the old Stalinist device of "popular fronts," applied with some success in the 1930's and with much more success at the close of the Second World War. In resorting to the device, Khrushchëv, like Stalin, stands firmly on Leninist ground. As revealed both by his writing and actions, Lenin was ever ready to ally himself with anybody, including "reformist socialists," provided it served his cause. And when such allies became useless, he would discard them like lemons from which the last drop of juice had been squeezed. "Is it not ridiculous in the extreme," he asked in 1920 in his *Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder*, "to refuse . . . to maneuver, to utilize the conflicts of interests (even though temporary) among one's enemies, to refuse to temporize and compromise with possible (even though transient, unstable, vacillating and conditional) allies?"⁸² And in the same pamphlet he expressly urged the Communists not to cut themselves off from the Socialists, and even advised the British Communists to co-operate with the Labour party. He registered similar ideas in a number of other writings.⁸³

That Khrushchëv did not deviate one iota from the stand of his predecessors is documented by his own speech. In making his bid for socialist co-operation, he lumped together "reformists and opportunists" and spoke, obviously alluding to Western socialist leaders, of "meting out a determined rebuff to opportunistic elements incapable of abandoning a policy of conciliation with the capitalists and landlords."

Advent of the Communist Utopia

Although Khrushchëv dealt with a number of basic tenets of Marxian-Leninist doctrine, he virtually ignored the one topic in which party rank and file are most interested: the question of transition from socialism to communism. After all, an almost forty-year "dictatorship of the proletariat" has passed and the transition to the "socialist society" was supposed to have been completed by 1936. It is hardly surprising, then, that party members have been wondering when they would at last be able to enjoy the hard-earned fruits of the promised paradise, where each will "work voluntarily according to his ability . . . and will take freely according to his needs." Stalin felt it necessary to answer such queries at both the Eighteenth Congress in 1939, when he blamed the delay on capitalist encirclement, and at the Nineteenth Congress in 1952, when in his *Economic Laws of Socialism in the USSR* he postponed the advent of the longed-for wonderland *ad*

⁸² *Selected Works*, Vol. X, p. 111.

⁸³ See *Collected Works* (New York, International Publishers, 1945), Vol. XXIII, pp. 196-97; *Selected Works*, Vol. IX, p. 138.

kalendas Graecas by making it dependent on "at least three basic preliminary conditions"—well-nigh impossible of attainment.²⁴

Stalin's death and early post-Stalin promises of a more lenient "New Course" have made some of the more impatient comrades wonder whether perhaps the arrival of the millenium could not be somewhat accelerated. On such foolish thoughts Khrushchëv poured colder water than had Stalin four years previously. Stalin at least sought to explain the delay; his successor did not even bother to do that. While stating, with tongue in cheek, that "the gradual transition from socialism to communism is being effected in our country," Khrushchëv lashed out against "some hotheads" who "decided that the construction of socialism had already been completed and began to compile a detailed timetable for the transition to communism" and against the wiseacres who "began to counterpose light and heavy industries." That he considered bad, since "on the basis of such utopian views a negligent attitude to the socialist principle of material incentive began to take root."

Factors behind the Modifications

Why have Soviet leaders decided to rephrase and to a slight extent even modify communist doctrine? And why at this particular moment? The reasons seem to be several.

To begin with, the whole party program, dating as it does from 1919, has for some time been in need of revision. The Nineteenth Congress ordered such a revision and set up a commission of eleven men, headed by Stalin, to submit the draft of a new program to the next congress. However, when the Twentieth Congress convened, the revision was not yet ready. Since the death of Stalin and the post-Stalinist developments obviously delayed the commission's work, the need for at least some streamlining of theory became rather urgent. This became all the more imperative inasmuch as the death of the Dictator was inevitably followed by increased ferment, uncertainty, and uneasiness as to what turn events might take. "Some people," complained Khrushchëv in his speech to the Twentieth Congress, "introduced confusion in certain clear issues which the Party had settled long before." Also, as mentioned earlier, the disappearance of the over-towering symbol and supreme enforcer of communist unity enhanced the integrating value of theory and thus made its streamlining more desirable.

Another very compelling reason lies in what orthodox Marxists, versed in historical materialism, would call the "change in conditions of produc-

²⁴ See Leo Guliow, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

tion." Truly revolutionary changes have occurred in recent decades, particularly since the Second World War, in science and technology, and they have left an indelible mark on both politics and economics. This is especially true of developments in atomic energy and thermonuclear weapons. As a result, a reappraisal of the situation was forced upon Soviet leaders, and their abandonment of the Leninist teaching of the inevitability of war, as well as their present inclination to emphasize more than ever the "peaceful" roads toward socialism, can be traced mainly, if not solely, to the new philosophy of "the atomic stalemate." After all, Khrushchëv and company are no suicide squad; they are cold-blooded calculators who will not wage a war unless they can do it without serious risk of self-destruction.

But most probably the main motivating force behind Khrushchëv's excursion into the realm of theory was the consideration of tactics. The Soviet rulers simply deemed it advisable to adapt their doctrine to the changed circumstances for better tactical uses at home and abroad. The shift from Stalin's monarchy to the present oligarchy and the need for preserving its uneasy equilibrium and preventing the emergence of a new one-man dictatorship necessitated the resolute emphasis on "collective leadership." The necessity to buttress unity within the communist camp, at a time when excessive use of coercion was not politic, and to "normalize" relations with Tito fathered the acceptance of different roads toward socialism. The endeavor to make the doctrine less repugnant for socialists and "progressives" led to the eager assurance that a nonviolent method of attaining the "transition of the principal means of production into the hands of the people" was possible and desirable. And the renewed stress on "peaceful coexistence" and on the new version of the theory on war were designed to befit more the subtler tactics that have today replaced the cruder strategy of Stalin's latter days.

There remains the attempt to answer one basic question frequently asked, in one form or another: Is this the beginning of a liberalizing process that will gradually soften up the Marxian-Leninist teaching, "civilize" it, so to speak, bringing it eventually closer to Western democracy and thus providing safer foundations for a lasting and mutually acceptable *modus vivendi* between the two camps? On the basis of what has happened so far, the answer is "No." Neither the goals nor any of the really important tenets of Marxism-Leninism have been abandoned in the post-Stalin era. Insistence on rigid ideological conformism continues unabated, though penalties for aberration have become milder. The leash on the doctrine has been somewhat lengthened, but party leaders appear to be as determined as ever to hold it firmly in their grip. They will undoubtedly endeavor to do so as long as they remain in power. They have been fed Marxism-Leninism, raised

on it, lived by it all the time. And what is probably decisive, they know how much they depend upon the weapon of ideological conformism for maintaining themselves in power and what tremendous risk they would run if they were to allow that weapon to slip from their hands. They are simultaneously the rulers and the prisoners of a system they have helped to create and maintain, trapped in a vicious circle from which they could not break out even if they had the desire. It is futile to believe that such rulers would cut from beneath them the branch on which they sit by dropping any of the *fundamental* parts of the Marxian-Leninist teaching.

Marxism-Leninism has not been "liberalized"; it will not and cannot be. An outdated theory that is at odds with established facts in its essential points is beyond the possibility of being saved by mere revisions. It can only be scrapped. That is what will eventually happen to it even in Russia. When that day comes, it will not be done by the rulers who have governed in the name of Marxism-Leninism but by a revolt against them. It may well be that the gravediggers of Marxism-Leninism in Russia will rise from the growing Soviet middle-class intelligentsia.

The Sunrise Conference: Myth or Fact?

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THE STORY of the now-celebrated Sunrise Conference first appeared in print in 1924 when William Allen White published his biography of Woodrow Wilson.¹ With permission White had taken the story from a manuscript written by the Washington newspaperman Gilson Gardner. Based on an account of the conference as recalled by Congressman Claude Kitchin, of North Carolina, Gardner's manuscript was subsequently published in *McNaught's Monthly*.² According to Kitchin, President Wilson, at a secret and early morning White House conference in April, 1916,³ announced to three House of Representative leaders (Speaker Champ Clark, Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Hal D. Flood, and Majority Leader Kitchin) that the time had come for the United States to enter the war and that he intended to carry out this objective immediately.

Published when the accepted interpretations of the First World War were in the process of being drastically revised, the account of the Sunrise Conference gave impetus to the thesis that Wilson had desired American intervention in the war a year before it actually occurred. Belief that such a conference did take place was in keeping with the anti-Wilson and anti-British nationalistic trends of the 1920's. With the period following the war being one of unusual disillusionment, the Sunrise Conference tale logically fitted into the growing cynicism of those who thought and wrote of the events of the First World War. The exact date of the conference, what actually took place, and even whether it ever assembled are problems

¹ *Woodrow Wilson* (Boston, 1924), pp. 328-31.

² "Why We Delayed Entering the War," *McNaught's Monthly*, Vol. III (June, 1925), pp. 171-73.

³ Kitchin did not refer to a date in his letter to Gardner, but he tacitly accepted the one mentioned to him by the journalist. Later research by Alex M. Arnett showed that Kitchin definitely believed that the conference was held in April, 1916.—See Kitchin to C. H. Claudy, April 2, 1921, Claude Kitchin Papers (University of North Carolina Library), quoted in Alex M. Arnett, *Claude Kitchin and the Wilson War Policies* (Boston, 1937), p. 189.

that have not yet been successfully solved. This article is an attempt to answer these questions through an analysis of contemporary and subsequent accounts of the conference.

Controversies raised by White's and Gardner's accounts moved historians to delve further into the question of the meeting. Unfortunately, the four men attending the purported conference were all dead before the account was first published, but several persons who were involved in the spring controversy between the President and Congress were interviewed by researchers, as were others who professed to remember what they had heard about the incident. Representative Charles H. Sloan, of Nebraska, a close friend of Kitchin's, stated that he had heard the North Carolinian speak of such a meeting, but he admitted that he had talked with none of the other actual conferees.⁴ Mrs. Champ Clark remembered that her husband had talked about a conference which she thought occurred in February, 1916, but she was vague about details.⁵ The Clarks' son, Bennett Champ, who was Parliamentarian of the House in 1916, recalled the April date.⁶ Senator C. C. Dill, of Washington, first heard of the conference in April, 1917, at which time, according to his memory, Kitchin had told him that the meeting had taken place "about a year" previously.⁷

Allan L. Benson, the Socialist leader, claimed to have received information on the conference from Kitchin on the day it had been held. According to Benson, Wilson had pounded a table with his fist in the presence of Kitchin, Clark, and Flood and had asserted that "if this country were to declare war at once hostilities would be ended by August."⁸ Benson did not date this conversation when he recalled it in 1935, but earlier he had emphasized the importance of the February revolt of Congress, omitting any mention of a crisis in April.⁹ Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy from 1913 to 1921, recalled that he had talked with Kitchin soon after February 25, the date on which Daniels thought the conference had been held. According to Daniels, Kitchin had described "Wilson's whole manner" as having implied that war would come and that it "might be a good thing and hasten peace."¹⁰

Probably the most important of all the secondary witnesses was blind

⁴ Sloan to Arnett, January 2 and 29, 1936, quoted in Arnett, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

⁶ Bennett Champ Clark to Arnett, August 15, 1936, quoted *ibid.*, pp. 191-92.

⁷ George Sylvester Viereck, *The Strangest Friendship in History* (New York, 1932), p. 183.

⁸ Benson to Arnett, December 31, 1935, quoted in Arnett, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

⁹ Allan L. Benson, *Inviting War to America* (New York, 1916), pp. 112-14.

¹⁰ Josephus Daniels, *The Wilson Era: Years of Peace—1910-1917* (Chapel Hill, 1944), p. 580.

Senator Thomas P. Gore, of Oklahoma. As a leader of the Congressional opposition to Wilson that spring, Gore had been closest to those who actually attended various White House conferences. Gore believed that there definitely had been such a meeting, but he disagreed with Kitchin on the date. Kitchin recalled that the conference had been held in April, 1916—presumably in connection with the *Sussex* crisis—but Gore believed that it had been associated with the contest between the Chief Executive and the Congress in February, 1916, over the Gore-McLemore resolutions.

Looking for material to substantiate the thesis that Wilson had not been neutral in 1916, that he had actually desired war, and that he had maneuvered to get America to enter the conflict, several writers readily accepted one or another of the various versions of the events concerning the shadowy conference. Harry Elmer Barnes,¹¹ who believed Wilson wanted the country in the conflict, accepted the original Kitchin version *in toto*, questioning not a single detail of Gardner's article. Alex Mathews Arnett, after corresponding with several of the secondary witnesses and gaining additional information from the Kitchin Papers, wrote that "there is definite confirmation of the essential points in the story of the 'Sunrise Conference' as traditionally told."¹² Arnett concluded that the April date was correct. George Sylvester Viereck,¹³ who had interviewed Gore, wrote as if there was no question but that the conference had been held, stating that Wilson's pacifism had at last ceased to resist the "clamor of Wall Street and the mesmerism of Colonel House." Gore told Viereck that the Sunrise Conference had been held on February 23 or 24, 1916. "It could not miss that date in either direction more than one day," the Senator recalled. Viereck accepted these statements without attempting to establish a definite day for the conference. Walter Millis¹⁴ followed Gore's version of the events as related to Viereck, but Millis set February 22 as the time of the meeting on the basis of the information Gore gave Viereck concerning an afternoon gathering on the previous day. After interviewing Gore at length, Charles Callan Tansill¹⁵ accepted the conference as fact, and he also set the date as February 22. Tansill continued in the revisionist tradition, attempting to prove that Wilson was definitely maneuvering to get the country into war in the spring of 1916.

If one assumes that a conference was held and that the general implications relating to it were true, the first problem to be solved is the date. Did it occur in April in connection with the *Sussex* affair or in February, when

¹¹ Harry Elmer Barnes, *The Genesis of the World War* (New York, 1929), pp. 629–31.

¹² *Op. cit.*, pp. 183–92.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 181–84.

¹⁴ *Road to War* (Boston, 1935), pp. 272–74.

¹⁵ *America Goes to War* (Boston, 1938), pp. 467–68.

the Gore-McLemore resolutions were the center of attention? All the secondary witnesses who mentioned April admitted their information came from Kitchin. The burden of proof for that date rests, therefore, squarely upon the North Carolinian's shoulders. However, a survey of contemporary sources—newspapers, official documents, letters, and diaries—indicate that the events related by Kitchin do not correspond with an April date. Although the *Sussex* crisis was serious, members of Congress appeared satisfied with Wilson's plans, and there were no signs whatever of Congressional opposition to the executive's handling of foreign affairs. No substantial speeches of protest were delivered in Congress after the President made public his first *Sussex* note (April 19),¹⁶ and Congress remained quiescent until the German reply of May 4 ended the crisis. Kitchin's own correspondence gives no indication that he was even considering, much less concerned about, the possibility of war in April. Yet his letters indicate that he had been very fearful of war throughout the last week in February, when the Gore-McLemore resolutions were the object of heated discussion in Congress.¹⁷ Furthermore, the unpublished diary of Robert M. Lansing, Secretary of State at that time, reveals no fear of war in April but contains much evidence of the possibility of war in February.¹⁸

No meeting between the President and the legislators on the subject of war had been reported by any part of the press in April, and this omission argues very strongly against an April date. But even if it is granted that an early morning secret rendezvous could have been held and not reported to the press, Kitchin supplies further negative evidence when he described an afternoon conference on the day before the sunrise meeting, and this gathering most certainly would have attracted the attention of newspaper reporters. In addition, the details of Kitchin's recollections of the afternoon meeting indicate that he was referring to an afternoon conference of February 21, fully reported by the press at the time. All evidence points to the conclusion that Kitchin, writing five years after the events, was confused about the month. The truth of the matter is that, except for the date, everything about Kitchin's version of the conference strongly points to February, when the Gore-McLemore resolutions were being considered.

The Gore-McLemore resolutions were the culmination of a long struggle between high-ranking officials in the government over American citizens' rights as neutrals. Many of the Congressional leaders had agreed with Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan that if the United States was to re-

¹⁶ *Cong. Record*, 64th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 6421 ff.

¹⁷ See Tansill, *op. cit.*, p. 486 n., and Arnett, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

¹⁸ See Tansill, *op. cit.*, p. 486 n., and Harley Notter, *The Origins of the Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson* (Baltimore, 1937), pp. 489-90 n.

main strictly neutral, American citizens should not be allowed to travel on belligerent merchant ships in time of war and thus perhaps involve America in needless incidents with the belligerents. On the other hand, President Wilson believed that it was not compatible with American rights to warn the nation's citizens against exercising freely the right to travel on whatever commercial vessels they chose. Notwithstanding Bryan's position, the Administration declined to inform American citizens that they took passage on belligerent merchant ships at their own risk.

As the German submarine campaign increased, the problem of Americans traveling on belligerents' armed merchant ships became more acute. Having survived the initial shock of the sinking of the *Lusitania* in May, 1915, which resulted in Bryan's resignation from the Cabinet, diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany reached another crisis when the *Persia*, an armed British liner, was torpedoed in the Mediterranean Sea in December, 1915, resulting in the death of an American consul. Bryan's successor, Robert M. Lansing, became alarmed over the seriousness of the situation and feared that popular excitement might manifest itself in Congress.¹⁹ In January, 1916, therefore, Lansing posed a question for the President's consideration: Since merchant ships armed for defense could destroy submarines on sight, could the neutral United States expect submarines to give warning before attacking these armed vessels? The Secretary suggested that it might be possible to settle the submarine question if the Allies would agree to disarm their merchant ships and if the Germans would agree to observe the rules of cruiser warfare in all submarine activity against the merchant ships.²⁰ Wilson expressed a favorable sentiment toward this suggestion, and Lansing was authorized to work toward a revision of the rules.

The result was a note by the Secretary of State on January 18, 1916, to the Allied governments, suggesting that all merchant ships be disarmed because, as the Germans argued, under modern conditions of warfare no real distinction could be made between defensive and offensive arms. He warned the Allies that the United States was seriously considering treating armed merchant ships as auxiliary cruisers.²¹ If the State Department had insisted on this arrangement, Great Britain would have faced the undesirable choice of either disarming its great merchant fleet and laying it open to the potent U-boat or of continuing armament and thereby losing

¹⁹ Lansing to Wilson [cipher message], January 3, 1916, Woodrow Wilson Papers (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress).

²⁰ Lansing to Wilson [cipher message], January 2, 1916, *ibid.*

²¹ *Papers Relating to Foreign Relations of the United States, 1916 Supplement* (Washington, 1929), pp. 146-48.

the support of the American State Department for British merchant vessels carrying American citizens. The British realized that the latter alternative might also seriously endanger Anglo-American relations.²² Aware of the advantageous position in which they found themselves, officials of the German government, who had been considering a policy of unrestricted submarine warfare for several months, announced on February 10 that on the last day of that month their submarines would begin attacking armed merchant ships without warning. After giving additional thought to his proposal and being fully aware of the possible consequences of it, Lansing announced at a press conference on February 15 that the State Department believed that merchant ships should be disarmed in the interest of humanity; nevertheless, the United States would not insist upon its new position if the Allies rejected the proposal to change the conventional rules. Neither would it warn its citizens against traveling on defensively armed ships.²³

Confused by the State Department's proposal and its possible withdrawal and actuated by the knowledge that a strong effort was being made to get Senate action on the subject of Americans traveling on armed merchant ships, William J. Stone, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, requested a conference with the President. Stone, Senate Majority Leader John W. Kern, and Hal D. Flood accordingly met with the President at 5:45 P.M. on February 21, 1916, to discuss recent events and the prospect of Senate action in regard to American rights.²⁴ Kitchin was invited to this meeting, but other duties prevented his attending. At the late afternoon conference Wilson reiterated that he would hold Germany to strict accountability if a submarine sank without warning an armed merchant ship upon which American citizens were traveling. He expressed his willingness to go to almost any extreme to support the principle of American rights on the high seas. He is represented as having declared that the State Department would sever diplomatic relations with the Teutonic Empire if this principle was violated again. A loyal Wilson supporter up to this time, Stone lost his temper, banged his fists on the table, and shouted, "Mr. President, would you draw a shutter over my eyes and my intellect? You have no right to ask me to follow such a course. It may mean war for my country."²⁵

By the time the President's position was made known to members of Congress, Germany had stated publicly that she would not recede from her recently announced position. Consequently, on February 23—after Congress

²² James W. Gerard to Secretary of State [Robert M. Lansing], February 10, 1916, quoted *ibid.*, p. 163.

²³ *New York Times*, February 16, 1916.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, February 23, 1916; White House Executive Officer's Diary, 1916, Wilson Papers.

²⁵ *New York Times*, February 24, 1916.

had recessed one day to observe George Washington's birthday—considerable concern was expressed in both chambers of Congress. Many of the legislators were convinced that the President actually desired to enter the war. The Democratic members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee hurriedly met and agreed to demand immediate action on a resolution offered previously by Representative Jeff McLemore, of Texas, warning Americans against taking passage on armed belligerent ships. Speaker Clark and Majority Leader Kitchin favored the resolution, but they prevailed on their colleagues to delay action on it until a conference with the Chief Executive could be held. In the early morning of February 25, three Democratic leaders in the House—Clark, Kitchin, and Flood—called on the President to inform him of the sentiment in Congress. The President was told that the McLemore resolution would carry overwhelmingly if brought to a vote soon. Wilson declared that he would stand by his announced policies despite Congressional resolutions. When the Congressmen asked what would be done if American lives were lost as the result of an armed ship's being torpedoed, Wilson said that he would break relations with the Central Powers. Questioned further, the President admitted that the next step could be war. When one of the Congressmen asked for a comment upon the effect of the United States' entry into the war, the President replied that such an event would perhaps bring the conflict to an end sooner. Wilson emphasized at this conference, however, that his policies were those of peace and not of war.²⁶

Gore, one of those Senators who were convinced that war was imminent, introduced in the Senate on the afternoon of February 25 a concurrent resolution which expressed the sense of Congress that United States citizens should not exercise their rights to travel on armed ships.²⁷ So long as the Gore and McLemore resolutions remained unconsidered, an unstable situation existed. Until Congress took action upon these resolutions, the foreign policy of the country was not securely in the hands of the executive. After working to bring the straying Democratic members into the Administration's fold and when he was certain of a favorable vote, Wilson wrote a letter on February 29 to Edward A. Pou, of North Carolina, acting chairman of the House Committee on Rules, in which he demanded politely but firmly that Congress act on the McLemore and Gore resolutions.²⁸ The debate on the Gore resolution started in the Senate on March 2, with Gore defending his actions concerning the crisis. He stated that he had learned from "the highest and most responsible authority" that Wilson had indicated a desire

²⁶ *Ibid.*, February 26 and March 3, 1916.

²⁷ *Cong. Record*, 64th Cong., 1st sess., p. 3120.

²⁸ Wilson to Pou, February 29, 1916, Wilson Papers.

for American participation in the war at a conference. (Note Gore's use of the indefinite article "a" in regard to this meeting.) The President, he asserted, had told certain Senate and House leaders that a state of war would probably result if Germany insisted upon her position. The President was reported to have said that this might not necessarily be evil, since the United States by entering the war might be able to bring it to an end by midsummer and thus render a great service to civilization.²⁹ Speculation concerning the purported conference began at once. Gore's reference to Stone's presence at such a meeting brought an immediate denial from the *Missourian*,³⁰ and Flood and Wilson issued statements to the press denying having attended a gathering at which such remarks were made.³¹

Allowing for the exaggeration of rumor, Gore's remarks on March 2 about the President's desires as expressed at a conference were not nearly so meaningful as some writers have attempted to make them. A comparison of what Gore said in this speech and what he wrote later concerning talks at the White House indicates that he was confusing the conferences of February 21 and 25. At the afternoon meeting, Wilson had stated his willingness to go to almost any extreme to support the principle of American rights to travel on the high seas. He was represented as having declared that the State Department would sever diplomatic relations with Germany if this principle was violated again. These remarks are not unlike those Gore received and which he related on the Senate floor in which Wilson was purported to have declared "that if Germany insisted upon her position the United States would insist upon her position." At the morning conference Wilson insisted that he would break relations with the Central Powers if American lives were lost as the result of an armed ship's being torpedoed. The President admitted upon being questioned further that the next step, logically, was war. To a question put to him by one of the Congressmen in regard to the effect of American intervention, the President answered that this might result in bringing the war to an end sooner than expected.

Gore's further statements in his March 2 speech were exaggerated versions of this conference. He had the President saying if both countries insisted upon their positions, "that it would result probably in a breach of diplomatic relations; that a breach of diplomatic relations would probably be followed by a state of war; and that a state of war might not be of itself and of necessity an evil, but that the United States by entering the war now might be able to bring it to a conclusion by midsummer and thus render a great service to civilization." The compounding of the two conferences by

²⁹ *Cong. Record*, 64th Cong., 1st sess., p. 3410.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *New York Times*, March 3, 1916.

Gore is also evidenced by his assertion that "certain Senators and certain Members of the House" were at the conference. At the afternoon conference two Senators and a Congressman (Stone, Kern, and Flood) attended, and at the morning meeting three members of the House (Clark, Kitchin, and Flood) were present.

When historians later began to ask him about events surrounding the conference, Gore further indicated his confusion in his letters and conversations. Writing a lengthy but heretofore unused letter to Charles A. Beard more than ten years after the events and about a year after the appearance of the Gardner article,³² Gore continued to fuse the February 21 and 25 conferences. Pointing out to Beard that the Sunrise Conference was the sequel to a meeting held "on the preceding day," Gore described the conference of February 21, listing Kern, Stone, and Flood as being present and noting that Kitchin did not attend, though he was invited. His mention of the famous fist-pounding act by Stone indicates conclusively that this "preceding" conference was the February 21 White House meeting, reported at the time by the press. Gore continued his mistake of stating that the President said at this conference that the United States' entry into the war would not be an unmixed evil, that the war could be ended by midsummer, and that a service to civilization would be rendered. Again this is an exaggeration of what the President said in reply to questions put to him by the House members during the February 25 conference. Gore wrote that the Sunrise Conference "followed the next morning," but he was undoubtedly influenced by Kitchin's inaccurate version on this point; three days intervened between the two conferences.

Gore made other statements that also tend to discredit the trustworthiness of his memory. He recalled that the afternoon conference occurred at 4:00 P.M.³³ when in actual fact it was at 5:45 P.M.³⁴ His statement that the Sunrise Conference took place at 7:30 or 8:00 A.M. may also be attributed to the influence of the original Kitchin-Gardner story. But that time is not far from 9:00 A.M., the hour of the February 25 conference.³⁵ After describing the February 21 meeting and saying the Sunrise Conference followed the next morning, Gore asserted that the morning conference took place on

³² Gore to Beard, September 28, 1926, Gore Papers (Division of Manuscripts, University of Oklahoma Library). Beard evidently was aware of Gore's confusion about the facts, because he never used this letter. The politician's testimony did not change the historian's view expressed in "Heroes and Villains of the World War" (*Current History*, Vol. XXIV [August, 1926], p. 735): "The story of the meeting . . . is at present very shadowy, and until it is made more precise and authentic it must remain in the form of dubious evidence."

³³ Gore to Beard, September 28, 1926, Gore Papers.

³⁴ White House Executive Officer's Diary, 1916, Wilson Papers.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

February 23 or 24. "It could not miss that date in either direction more than one day," Gore wrote to Beard. This statement, made later to other inquirers, along with both Kitchin's and Gore's account of an afternoon conference, was responsible for Tansill's and Millis's accepting February 22 as the date of the Sunrise Conference. But assuming that the morning conference did not follow the afternoon one immediately, the statement may also be true for a February 25 conference. In the same letter to Beard, Gore explained that he had left Washington for Florida on February 2 and had returned on the morning of February 22 or 23. His sentence "The conference in question occurred within the next day or two [after the return from Florida]" more strongly bears out the possibility of a February 25 date for the famous conference.

Apparently Gore was enlarging on the events, an understandable development in light of the circumstances. Not having been an actual participant in the conferences and having had to receive all his information by ear, the blind Senator probably made the mistake of confusing the meetings. When he recalled the events later, he continued to mix them. An opponent of the Administration in the neutrality controversy, he may have been only too ready to accept a story that would tend to uphold his position that Wilson was not neutral in 1916.

Because of the confusing and conflicting stories, one cannot answer categorically the question "Did the Sunrise Conference ever occur?" If one insists that the meeting was secret, that it took place at daybreak, and that Wilson expressed to his opponents in Congress his desire and plans to enter the war, the answer must be "No"; no evidence whatever has been found to bear out these parts of the Sunrise Conference story. But if one accepts the statements of Kitchin and Gore in proper context, allowing for some misrepresentation and rumor, the conference held on February 25 at 9:00 A.M. with full press coverage was unmistakably the Sunrise Conference.³⁶

³⁶ This is not the first time the February 25 conference has been suggested as the Sunrise Conference. Harley Notter, *The Origins of the Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson* (p. 490 n.), wrote that the February 25 conference was "probably" the Sunrise Conference, and Alice M. Morrissey, *The American Defense of Neutral Rights, 1914-1917* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1939 [pp. 116-17 n.]), agreed with Notter. In his semimemoir, Josephus Daniels, *Wilson Era, 1910-17* (p. 580), wrote that February 25 was the date of the "much-talked-of Sunrise Conference." Horace C. Peterson, *Propaganda for War* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1939 [p. 216]), also held to the February 25 date. After a careful perusal of the Wilson Papers, the official Wilson biographer, Ray Stannard Baker, *Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters* (New York, 1927-39 [Vol. VI, pp. 170-71 n.]), also reached this conclusion, and the most recent writer on the subject, Arthur S. Link, *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era 1910-1917* (New York, 1954 [p. 213 n.]), agrees with Baker. But none of these writers went into detail concerning the conference, most of them relegating the problem to footnotes.

The date and time of the conference have received more attention from writers than what happened at the meeting. What Wilson said at all of his conferences (secret or other) with the legislators is the most vital component of the problem. Since Kitchin and Gore, two of the President's bitterest foes in the neutrality dispute, were primarily responsible for the unsubstantiated aspects of the conference story and since, in addition, there is absolutely no documentary evidence to indicate that the President *desired* to enter the war in the spring of 1916, the portion of the story making Wilson a crafty schemer must be regarded as unauthenticated. The Sunrise Conference was, therefore, both myth and fact.

Ethnicity and Human Relations

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ETHNICITY¹ represents only one of the many ways in which human beings differentiate themselves. Just as the tags *Christian*, *Mohammedan*, *Republican*, *Communist* serve to identify people, so likewise do *Caucasian*, *Chinese*, *French*, and so on. However, unlike many differences that prove to be transient and trivial, ethnicity marks off differences that, as William James would say, make a difference.

Perhaps ethnicity has made a greater difference than it should. Yet ethnic differences have persisted throughout historic time, and they have been and still are persistent. It is proposed here to examine some of the ways in which ethnicity has entered into the pattern of human relations, sometimes thwarting them, sometimes facilitating them, but always conditioning them.

I

The terms that are ordinarily employed in discussions of ethnic differences are "nationality" and "race." Although they are useful terms, they suffer from certain inadequacies. "Nationality" refers to membership in a national group. However, a very large percentage—perhaps close to a third—of the human species has not yet arrived at the stage of nationhood. Many of these people still live in tribal or small locality-groups, recognized as separate or distinct from other groups. "Race" is still a controversial concept, comprehensive, vague, and overlapping; indeed, some writers in recent years have felt that it should be dispensed with as a scientific tool. Yet it is an old and very powerful concept. We are, in fact, much more certain of the presence of racial divergences than we are of the limits that circumscribe a given racial classification. Human beings do make racial distinctions and identifications among themselves. Finally, students of nationality and race often fuse the two concepts, refer to them indiscriminately, yet fail to see any qualities and

¹ *The New English Dictionary* identifies "ethnicity" as "*obs. rare*" and defines it as "heathendom, heathen superstition." The present usage attempts to rescue a potentially serviceable word from limbo, strip it of its earlier connotations, and bring it in line with other current terms, such as "ethnology," "ethnography," etc.

problems they may have in common. To illustrate: in the literature one often runs across the distinction that nationality is a cultural phenomenon and race is a biological fact.

The point of view developed here is that the tribal, areal, national, and racial groupings of mankind are socio-biological phenomena. They are, most significantly, cultural facts, with biological and territorial identifications usually, though not always, associated with them. The one thing these concepts have in common is that they are vehicles for ethnic differentiation and identification. They are marks of ethnicity. As cultural phenomena the tribal, areal, national, and racial groupings of mankind may give rise to distinctly different types of sentiments and activities. Yet their core of common meanings, qualities, and reference prompts human beings in their social relations to behave toward one another in highly similar ways. Whether the interpersonal behavior takes place in the frame of racial or of national meanings, the motivations, forms, and consequences of the behavior display many similar patterns. For example, tribal, national, and racial sentiments exhibit many comparable traits: international behavior is often interracially defined, and tribes manifest in their intergroup contacts many of the same behavior patterns of nations.

We may, therefore, quite legitimately speak of "ethnic behavior," by which we shall mean the actions and relations of human beings as they are affected by the fact of ethnicity. Although there are necessarily physical and biological bases for the ethnic behavior of man—as indeed for any other type of social behavior—we shall regard ethnicity as primarily a cultural fact. Ethnic relations are those human relationships conditioned by the fact of ethnicity.

II

The etymology of the concept of "ethnicity" reveals the manner in which the idea of cultural differences among human beings gradually became fused with biological and physical traits. The word "ethnic" came into modern English usage in the late fifteenth century. An "ethnic" nation was any "non-Israelitish" nation. The idea was apparently derived from the early Greeks, who defined *ethnikos* as "heathen; pagan." Hence ethnicism in early English usage was equated with heathenism and paganism. In the middle nineteenth century "to ethnize" meant "to favour Gentile or heathen views and practices," clearly a reference with a Semitic-anti-Semitic context. By the 1860's the term "ethnomaniac" came into currency, meaning "one who is crazy about racial autonomy," again reflecting both the anti-Semitic and

white-supremacy polemics of the day. On the more sober scientific side the words "ethnology" and "ethnography" were developed in order to identify the scientific study of ethnic groups.²

The early Greeks distinguished between the *demos* and the *ethnos*. When in the sixth century B.C. Cleisthenes divided Attica into units of one hundred, the people of the *deme*—a subtribal grouping—were the *demos*. This administrative unit was contrasted with the *ethnos*, the organization of the kindred in clan and tribal units. Herodotus observed: "The Hellenic *ethnos* has always used the same language; but since it parted off, feeble at first, from the Pelasgian *ethnos*, setting forth from a small beginning, it has increased to that great number of *ethnea* which we see, and chiefly because many barbarian *ethnea* have been added to it."³ Building on this usage, Fairchild holds that the ancient Greek *ethnos* was "a group bound together and identified by ties and bonds of both race and nationality."⁴

Originally, then, the idea of ethnicity seems to have been a compound of tribal, national, racial, and territorial traits expressed in cultural form. Among modern writers this cluster has not always been emphasized. Sometimes, as in the writings of De Gobineau and Chamberlain, the notion of culture and race is expressed interchangeably and interdependently. Sometimes ethnic groups are defined as nations or races, but the tribal or locality groupings will not be included as forms of ethnicity. When anthropologists use the term "ethnic" at all, they have in mind, apparently, the socio-biological groupings of human beings in the sense employed here. Occasionally the idea of ethnicity is given a completely biological meaning, as in the following comment: "An ethnic group represents part of a species population in process of undergoing genetic differentiation; it is a group of individuals capable of hybridizing and intergrading with other such ethnic groups to produce further genetic recombination and differentiation."⁵ Ordinarily, however, the emphasis is laid primarily on the cultural qualities that mark the ethnic group. Thus, Gillin observes in his discussion of mestizo America: "Throughout the area, Indians are distinguished from 'white' or mestizos by cultural symbols. . . . Since an Indian's status is defined in cultural and social terms rather than in terms of physical features, it follows in theory at

² See entries "ethnic," "ethnicize," "ethnize," "ethnology," etc. in *New English Dictionary* (1933), Vol. 3, p. 313.

³ Herodotus, Book I, Chap. 58, trans. Henry Carey, 1891. Note: *ethnos*, *ethnea* retained here by present writer.

⁴ H. P. Fairchild, *Dictionary of Sociology* (New York, Philosophical Library, 1944), p. 109.

⁵ M. F. Ashley Montagu, *Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1945), p. 44.

least that an Indian, by discarding his status symbols and acquiring those of mestizo status, may change his position in society."⁶

The cultural conception of race and nationality seems to be displacing the overemphasis on the biological aspects of these phenomena. Typical of this newer approach is this comment: "In the Indo-American countries the identification of the Indian is of a social nature. . . . The ethnically Indian element is set apart from the rest of society on the basis of its cultural differentiation and isolation, and at the same time on the basis of its inferior economic situation and political and social status."⁷ In the present connection, therefore, one is only following common practice in the scientific community by regarding an ethnic group or the concept of ethnicity as the distinctions between and among human groups on the basis of the cluster of cultural, biological, and physical traits that jointly or separately differentiate one social group from another.

III

Ethnic distinctions not only separate peoples; they also bind together in closer unity those thus set off. "We" versus "they," "one of our people" versus "one of them," "we civilized people" versus "those barbarians," these are commonplace phrases the world over. Ethnicity both pushes people apart and knits them together. This social ambivalence has striking human consequences.

For one thing, it means that at best the relations of ethnic groups and of representatives of ethnic groups are inevitably the relations of strangers.⁸ Ethnic consciousness is, therefore, one of difference and similarities—the things that Englishmen or Japanese or Negroes have in common, the things that set them off from others. "Ethnicity" is a term simultaneously of kinship and alienation, of attraction and repulsion, of in and out. It is a term of social acceptance and social exclusion. The degree to which awareness of *ethnic* belonging and not-belonging enters into social interaction determines the extent to which social relations are *ethnic* relations. Persons mutually unaware of their ethnic differences or similarities, as young children at play, do not experience ethnic interaction. Ethnicity is more significantly a socio-psychological than a socio-biological phenomenon. Ethnicity "means" something for human relations only when the interactional situation receives ethnic definition—that is, when relations are ethnically described and pre-

⁶ John Gillin, "Mestizo America," in R. Linton (ed.), *Most of the World* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1949), p. 162.

⁷ B. Salz, "Indianismo," *Social Research*, Vol. II (1944), pp. 442–43.

⁸ See R. E. Park, "The Nature of Race Relations," in E. T. Thompson (ed.), *Race Relations and the Race Problem* (Durham, Duke University Press, 1939), p. 43.

scribed. However distinctive may be the ethnic qualities as socio-biological traits, their influence in the contacts of people is a function of symbols.

Again, by virtue of its inherent ambivalence, ethnicity carries with it prepotent tendencies toward aggression and hostility. Ethnic relations, we say, are the relations of strangers. If the culture has re-enforced the fear of strangers, if it has put a premium on the society of the cultural kin group, it produces an environment of incipient hostility that becomes as integral a part of the total environment of successive generations as is the climate or topography. An individual's ethnicity is a bond, and anything that strengthens the bond likewise strengthens the barrier. Ethnicity tends to commit one to prejudgments of superiority, fear, and distance. If culturally re-enforced by ideological formulas—racism or nationalism or tribalism or localism—a "system of permanences," whose contours become the more deeply etched by contacts with the strange, becomes the basis for one's actions.⁹ By the same token, ethnic re-enforcements tend to make the ethnic group cohesive and primary, to high-light its ethnic sentiments, and to sponsor promotional and conservative actions by the group. International war is a perennial example. Conversely, if the culture diffuses and disperses the consciousness of ethnic kinship by way of cosmopolitan contacts, intermarriage, or secularization, then ethnicity becomes a thin, wavering line of recognized differences. Ethnicity is thus a value-orientation, subject to all the vicissitudes of value-orientations generally.

Finally, ethnicity is not only a mark by which the stranger is identified; it is a bond of affiliation. Kinship is the central theme in ethnicity. Kinship, usually treated as a phenomenon of the family, has a much broader significance for social organization.

"We can trace the gradual broadening of the feeling of fellowship during the advance of civilization. The feeling of fellowship in the horde expands to the feeling of unity of the tribe, to a recognition of bonds established by a neighborhood of habitat, and further on to the feeling of fellowship among members of nations. . . . When we analyze the strong feeling of nationality which is too patent at the present time, we recognize that it consists largely in the idea of the preeminence of that community whose members we happen to be—in the preeminent value of its language, of its customs, and of its traditions, and in the belief that it is right to preserve its peculiarities and to impose them upon the rest of the world. . . . The feeling of nationality as here expressed, and the feeling of the solidarity of the horde, are of the same order, although modified by the gradual expansion of the idea of fellowship; but the ethical point of view which makes it justifiable at the present time to increase the well-being of one nation at

⁹ Cf. Kurt Riezler, "The Social Psychology of Fear," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 49 (1944), pp. 489 ff.

the cost of another, the tendency to value one's own civilization as higher than that of the whole rest of mankind, are the same as those which prompt the actions of primitive man, who considers every stranger an enemy, and who is not satisfied until the stranger is killed."¹⁰

The kin group—even if only a situational emergent, as in the current dichotomy "we of the West" versus "Eastern Europe"—functions as a sacred society, protecting itself against, projecting itself upon, but always separating itself from, the secular societies of the nonkin group.¹¹

Ethnicity, then, may be defined as the quality or condition or state of belonging to an ethnic group. Ethnic relations are the human activities and experiences that result from the fact of, and the feeling about, ethnicity. We may say that ethnicity tends to be a cluster of distinctive traits, social and biological and psychological in nature, which serve as (a) marks of identity, (b) objects of affinity, and (c) an occasion for separation and cohesion—a wall that encloses and excludes. Essentially a kinship term, ethnicity is the common characteristic of such varying human groups as Boas' "neighborhood of habitat," the tribe, the locality, the national, and the racial groupings. It is a conceptual platform from which we may view and understand phenomena common to many collective behaviors often regarded as quite unrelated.

¹⁰ Franz Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man* (New York, Macmillan, 1911), p. 208.

¹¹ See Howard Becker, "Sacred and Secular Societies," *Social Forces*, Vol. 28 (1950), pp. 361 ff.

The Responsibilities of Higher Education

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THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF HIGHER EDUCATION in America have been great since the founding of Harvard as the first institution of higher learning in 1636. Their magnitude today is in keeping with the seriousness of world tensions, the potentiality of human annihilation by atomic weapons, the problems arising from increases in population and the reduction of natural resources, and a pervading sense of uneasiness about the future.

Is higher education meeting these responsibilities? Its critics say "No," and its supporters claim that it is doing very well, considering the financial support given to it.

A review of recent magazines and other publications brings to light such subjects as "The Crisis in Teaching,"¹ "Will the Colleges Blow Their Tops?"² "New Riddles for Our Schools,"³ and many others of a like vein. These titles imply problems. What are some of the more serious ones?

The impending tidal wave.—First is the impending flood of students—too many "customers" to be properly served with present facilities and personnel. The increase in births that traditionally accompanies a war produced what is commonly referred to as the "war baby crop." In the decade before 1940, a little more than 2,000,000 children were born annually in the United States. A marked increase in births began in 1941, and the number during and since the war has risen steadily each year, reaching 4,021,000 in 1955.

The crest of the increase has been moving up through the public schools and is scheduled to reach the colleges and universities in 1958. It is commonly referred to as the "tidal wave" of students. The present enrollment

NOTE.—This paper is essentially an address delivered by Dr. E. N. Jones, president of Texas Technological College, before the Texas Personnel and Management Association in Austin, Texas, on November 1, 1956.

¹ Oscar Handlin, *Atlantic Monthly*, September, 1956, pp. 33-40.

² Peter F. Drucker, *Harper's Magazine*, July, 1956, pp. 663-68.

³ Annual Education Survey, *Saturday Review*, September 8, 1956, pp. 19 ff.

in the 1,832⁴ higher institutions of America is a little more than 2,500,000 students, approximately 1,000,000 more than before the Second World War. Forecasts for enrollment by 1970 vary between 5,500,000 and 7,000,000. All authorities agree that present figures will be more than doubled.

The growing shortage of teachers.—The second serious problem is a shortage of qualified teachers. Even now *new* college teachers are needed at the rate of 17,200 per year. The number required will rise gradually to 45,145 in 1967 and taper off to 30,000 in 1970.⁵ Over the next fifteen years, 3 new college teachers must be recruited for every 2 we have today. The total teaching force on college and university campuses must expand between two to three times as much in the next fifteen years as it has in the past twenty-five.

In planning to meet this problem, the country faces an ironical situation in the fact that as the need increases, the source of supply decreases. The supply of new teachers for the war babies, now in high school and soon to flood the colleges, must come from the "depression babies" who, born from twenty-two to twenty-five years ago, are now reaching the beginnings of their professional careers. We face the critical situation of meeting an increasing demand with a supply decreased at the source.

Improving the professional status of the professor.—The status of college professors and public-school teachers has fallen markedly in the estimation of the average American in the past fifty years. That the choice of teaching has been regarded by many as governed by the old saying "He who can does; he who cannot, teaches" is no compliment to the profession.

To a considerable extent the colleges themselves must share the responsibility for this impression. This evaluation of the teaching profession is traceable in part to the aloofness of the campus in the past years from the practical affairs of everyday life. Its isolation was erroneously considered as necessary for a proper atmosphere for meditation and learning and was the basis for the growth of the ivory-tower tradition. But the truth of the matter is that the value that derives from the teaching in all subjects, including the classics, must be made available for the current scene. The time-tried verities of philosophy and the humanities are as applicable to contemporary problems as they were to those of the past.

The realization that such aloofness is unwise in rapidly changing times has fortunately been increasing in recent years. A late demonstration of

⁴ *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 77th ed., U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1956.

⁵ *Teachers for Tomorrow* (New York, Fund for the Advancement of Education, 1955), p. 55.

this trend was given at the Thirty-ninth Annual Meeting of the American Council on Education, held in Chicago on October 11-12, 1956. Under the over-all theme "Higher Education and the Society It Serves," there were discussed such topics as: "Higher Education and Industry," "Higher Education and Labor," "Higher Education and Agriculture," "Higher Education and the Local Community," "Higher Education and the States," and "Higher Education and the Federal Government."

There is a promise of mutual benefit in the efforts of business and industry on the one hand and colleges and universities on the other to recognize that we are "in this together." The disposition of employers to criticize our public schools for deficiencies in training in the three R's and of the schools to feel that the public is indifferent to their problems is being dissolved gradually by the dissemination of information about each other.

The isolation of the academic community is, then, no longer regarded as a major virtue. Nor can the former patronizing attitude on the part of business and industry toward college professors and the processes of education be regarded as helpful, either to business or to education. As business operations become more complex and as manufacturing, for example, relies increasingly upon electronics, industry more and more must turn to the educated man. As Boyd Campbell, chairman of the Board of the United States Chamber of Commerce, stated at the Chicago conference referred to above, "Higher education and business constitute a community partnership." As this sense of partnership grows—and fortunately it is growing—the following evaluation of a college professor will replace the too-commonly-held feeling that a professor is an impractical man who teaches because he is incapable of doing anything else:

OUR PROFESSOR

He is the servant of everybody. He serves humanity at large by bringing his knowledge to bear upon its problems; finding ways of remedying human discord, alleviating human misery, and stimulating human happiness. His teaching makes other men more efficient. Dedicating his own life to service, he enables the men he teaches to attain material success.

Industry depends upon him for its engineers and technicians; commerce depends upon him for its executives and specialists; government for its leaders. Humanity depends upon him to supply it with doctors, with lawyers, with teachers, with intelligent citizens. And civilization owes to him not only its efficiency but its beauty: for the Professor, concerned with human happiness, knows and seeks to perpetuate the values of culture, of art and literature and music, which make people more humane and bring to them the highest, most satisfying pleasures.

Students in universities and colleges do not take courses: they take men. Ade-

quate provision for these men is one of the most basic concerns of society and one of the most significant contributions that can be made by the far-seeing men and women who make the work of educational institutions possible.⁶

Increasing financial benefits.—The teaching profession not only must have increased professional status but also must receive more financial benefits if the depleted supply of teachers is to be replenished and the extra numbers recruited to take care of increasing enrollments. The evaluation of a professor quoted above includes the declaration that "adequate provisions for these men [and women] is one of the most basic concerns of society . . ." On the solution of this problem of providing the college with qualified teachers depends the progress of economic expansion, cultural development, and the strengthening of the very foundations of democracy itself—in short, upon it depends the future of the nation. A discussion of the inadequacy of teaching salaries is therefore in order, for financial benefits speak convincingly in competition for qualified personnel.

Teachers are the only occupational group whose real earnings have actually fallen since 1940. The real earnings of industrial workers have, by comparison, gone up nearly 50 per cent and those of physicians 80 per cent. Even ministers, who are notoriously underpaid, have had their positions improved. "Electricians, plumbers, plasterers, and steamfitters take home larger checks than the teacher; and there are schools in which the best-paid employees are the maintenance men. The average salary of full professors in large state universities, presumably the best-trained and most skilled in their profession, is less than that of railroad engineers. After eight years of teaching, a Ph.D. in science can just about rise to the salary level at which he could start in industry."⁷

As members of the Texas Personnel and Management Association, you are interested in how college and university salaries in Texas compare with those in other institutions across the country. I have available the averages of budgeted salaries in the state-supported institutions in Texas for 1955–56. A very recent national study, the most comprehensive of its kind, which includes salary reports from 680 institutions, has just been released by the Research Division of the National Education Association.⁸ The comparison of the two, shown in Table 1, is revealing and should challenge all Texans.

⁶ "Alumni Fund Report, 1955–56" (Dallas, Southern Methodist University).

⁷ "The Crisis in Teaching," *Atlantic Monthly*, p. 35. Based on actual comparative figures from 1953 statistics, *Teachers for Tomorrow* (pp. 37, 67) states that the average annual earnings for railroad engineers was \$7,352; for full professors in large state universities, \$7,000.

⁸ *College and University Bulletin* (Association for Higher Education [Department of the NEA]), Vol. 9, No. 1 (October 1, 1956).

The average Texas citizen to whom comparative figures of this type are presented will doubtless say: "I just can't believe it! Texas doesn't let other states go around her like that." But Texas does!

Beardsley Ruml points up our state (and national) dilemma in this statement: "The American society is deteriorating in the sector most critical for future progress and well being. The quality of the future depends on education at all levels, and the quality of education depends on its top leadership."⁹

There are encouraging signs that leaders in our country are moving actively into campaigns to disseminate among the American people accurate

TABLE 1

Comparison of Texas Salaries with National Salaries in State-Supported Institutions
(All Salaries for 9 Months Service)

| <i>Rank</i> | <i>Texas (average)</i> | <i>National (average)*</i> | <i>Differential</i> |
|---------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|
| Professor | \$5,618 | \$7,329 | \$1,711 |
| Associate professor | 4,933 | 5,883 | 950 |
| Assistant professor | 4,411 | 5,096 | 685 |
| Instructor | 3,787 | 4,224 | 437 |

* Whereas the study itself presented the median instead of the average salary, I am indebted to a member of the Texas Tech faculty for working averages from the rather extensive data included. It is estimated that, while not so accurate as could have been determined from the original data, the variation is not over ± 6 per cent. The comparison between averages is thereby possible instead of between the average and the median.

and complete information on the problems of higher education. For example, the Council for Financial Aid to Education, of which Wilson Comp-ton is president, will sponsor a two-year campaign to increase public interest in, and support for, higher education. This campaign will get under way early in 1957 and will use all types of mass media. It will be national in scope.

Another indication of progress in studying higher education was the establishment by the last Texas Legislature of a Commission on Higher Education, composed of fifteen members appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of the Senate. The commission is charged with making a "continuing study of all phases of senior public education in Texas . . . for the purpose of improving its effectiveness and efficiency." It is encouraging to know that, in preparation for the Legislature that meets in January, 1957, the commission is giving serious attention to the matter of salaries, a matter which they consider of major importance.

⁹ *Teachers for Tomorrow*, p. 20.

It is to be fervently hoped that the citizens of Texas will become fully convinced that in the employment of human services (in this case, our public-school teachers and college professors) we get just about what we are willing to pay for in competition with other professions. Can quality be of greater importance anywhere or in any business than in the choice of the personality, training, and experience of those who teach our children and young people?

In assessing the current scene in higher education, it must be recognized that there are some deficiencies, particularly in the quality of work being done. In trying to be all things to all people, the public schools and colleges have in the past multiplied courses, with a consequent dilution of quality. Deficiencies in English and also in mathematics and the sciences have resulted. This is recognized by the public schools, colleges, and universities, and with this recognition are coming steps to correct the situation. In fact, improvement is already noticeable. At the college with which I am associated, the Department of English at the beginning of the present semester canceled six sections of remedial freshman English set up for those most deficient on the English aptitude test and had to open an additional section for those who ranked highest on the test. The number of sections which had been set up for the best, the average, and the poorest students in freshman English was based upon previous experience. Such improvement is encouraging.

The University of Illinois took a bold step when it announced in the spring of 1956 that all students entering the University in the fall of 1960 and thereafter must proceed without the benefit of remedial work in English. This is becoming known as the "Illinois Ultimatum." As it issued this ultimatum of survive or perish on the strength of preparation in high-school English, the University also asserted its desire to be of all possible assistance to high schools. To be had for the asking is a pamphlet stating clearly the nature of the new standard and requirements. A rush of requests for this pamphlet from Illinois and from other states is reported. Doubtless the courage of the University of Illinois in breaking away from the traditional panacea of remedial English will lead to better English instruction over the country, at both the secondary and college levels.

The shortage of scientific man power has become increasingly a matter of concern in our national structure. The percentage of students taking physics and mathematics in high school dropped perceptibly in the twenty-seven years between the close of the two world wars. Competition with Russia has silhouetted the resulting deficiencies in the number being trained in the sciences and engineering. For example, there was a 57 per cent decline in the number of science teachers produced between 1950 and 1955. The

number of science teachers needed in the high schools of the country in 1954-55 was 7,900. In the same year 3,600 were produced, but of these only 1,700 entered teaching.¹⁰ Assistant Defense Secretary Charles Quarles considers the shortage of trained engineers "potentially a greater threat to our national security than any aggressor weapons known."¹¹

A very practical question emerges out of these problems and recognized deficiencies. Must higher education, as it plans for the future, choose between quality and quantity—or is it possible to achieve both?

That enrollments will double in the next twelve to fifteen years is certain. It is likewise certain that unless marked success can be achieved in the recruiting of new teachers the answer is that we must accept a decrease in the quality of instruction.

Does this mean that enrollments, even in state schools, must be restricted? Therein lies the choice for the citizens of Texas and the American people in general. With adequate financing of higher education, the present open-admissions policy can be continued; if financial support is not stepped up apace, a selective-admissions policy must become the rule or quality will inevitably suffer.

That the genius of American higher education, particularly state-supported, has been a blending of both quality and numbers is pointed out in the observation by Cornelis W. de Kieweit, president of the University of Rochester, that "the true greatness of American higher education is held aloft on the two pillars of quality and quantity."¹²

That we must not lower the quality of instruction, but rather improve it, need not be argued. This is a self-evident truth. That our nation will suffer if we limit the number of students who may attend college is not so self-evident. I shall, therefore, attempt to defend my belief that it is in the national interest to keep the number of students who attend college moving upward in proportion to the population increase. In support of this thesis, I would like to point out that in America all college students—including those of less than first-rate ability—gain fundamental backgrounds in the following ways: (1) By a study of the social sciences, they develop more of an awareness of political and economic issues than otherwise would be the case. (2) By a study of the humanities, they are made more conscious of man's responsibility to his fellow-men. (3) By a study of the sciences, they acquire the ability to adjust better to the complexities of our technological age. Through this adjustment, they are able to give support, co-operation,

¹⁰ *Teachers For Tomorrow*, p. 64.

¹¹ *Time*, May 30, 1955, p. 78.

¹² American Council on Education, "Action under Way" (Washington, D.C., October 6, 1955), pp. 2-8.

and sympathy to our first-rate scientists, engineers, and other professional men who lead in our technological advancement. It is the rank-and-file graduates who constitute the foundation of American industry and the subordinates and assistants to the first-class students who later become the leaders. American strength comes from training *first-class followers* as well as top-notch leaders.

There is still another value which accrues from accepting rather than rejecting the inevitability of crowded enrollments. It is that at no point does our American system cause a student who really tries, to feel that for want of educational opportunity he cannot hope to find a place in society suited to his talents. Thus mass education, including that at college level, has been a force working for social co-operation and national cohesion far above that evident in Britain and France as examples of countries with a more exclusive higher educational system.

Is it not possible furthermore that one of the chief reasons for the absence of a Communist party of really serious proportions in the United States is our reduction, through higher educational opportunities, of the disappointments and frustrations that lead to the acceptance of the Communist credo? By caring for large numbers, we strengthen more minds against the intrusions of communism. Thus we may conclude that popular education is a force working for social co-operation and against the social cleavage and class consciousness which the more exclusive systems of higher education in Great Britain and France, for example, tend to promote.

In summary, may I remind you of the perfectly obvious fact that, by giving especial attention and stimulus to our best students, we are strengthening the pillar of *quality*. As we reconcile ourselves to enrollment increases and face realistically the question of greater expenses and more taxes, we strengthen the pillar of *quantity*. Both are vitally essential to the continuation of our strength as a nation.

Religious Influences in the Background of the British Labour Party

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DURING THE LAST DECADES of the nineteenth century there developed in Britain a socialist movement characteristically British in its home-grown insularity. Owing little to the contemporary Continental socialist movement or to the great Continental socialist thinkers, the British brand of socialism became the most distinguishing feature of a new political party, the Labour Party.

As a party of socialism the British Labour Party has been distinguished from Continental socialist parties not only by its victories in free elections but also by its lack of dogmatism, by the weakness of a class-struggle ideology, and by the strength of a religious and ethical tone in its propaganda as it has demanded a greater measure of social justice. This ethical tone, so characteristic of pre-1914 Labour speeches and pamphlets, sounded from the depths of British nineteenth-century evangelical feeling. Socialism on the Continent fell under the influences of Marx, Lasalle, Bakunin, and their interpreters and revisers. There the doctrines of economic determinism and the materialistic interpretation of history, of anarchism and of syndicalism formed the intellectual bases of political parties. In Britain these Continental doctrines made themselves felt scarcely at all because they appeared so in conflict with the religious beliefs of the majority of British workingmen and working-class leaders. Any attempt to understand the British Labour movement of this century must recognize the tie that has existed historically between Christianity and socialism in Britain.

Christian influence entered the British socialist movement through two avenues: one a formal advance through societies bearing the name "Christian Socialist," and the other a gradual infiltration through individual labor leaders who touched the religious strain present in so many working-class communities. Among the various organizations bearing the name "Socialist" in the last decades of the nineteenth century was the Christian Socialist

Society. Sidney Webb, who was closely associated with the British socialist movement, in 1889 placed this now nearly-forgotten society alongside the Marxian Social Democratic Federation, William Morris' Socialist League, and the Fabian Society as the four English socialist organizations of more than local influence. Webb described the Christian Socialist Society as a loosely organized group of ministers of religion of various denominations who stressed in frequent sermons and writings their belief "that the doctrine and principles of Christianity involve a socialist state of society."¹

The other Christian Socialist organizations were attached to the Anglican Church. Among a relatively few high Anglicans, the Guild of St. Matthew, founded in 1877, exercised a strong influence, though its vague socialism scarcely went further than the tax- and land-reform proposals of Henry George. Under its energetic leader, Stewart Headlam, it was always more a religious than a socialist organization. That position was reflected in the name of the Guild's magazine, *The Church Reformer*. Another and more popular Anglican society was the Christian Social Union, which enrolled twenty-six hundred members in 1895.² It attacked *laissez faire*, but never evolved a positive theory or program of its own. Its plea was not for the establishment of a socialist society, but simply for the investigation of social problems under the searchlight of New Testament ethics. These late-nineteenth-century Christian Socialists harkened back to the mid-century Christian Socialism of Maurice and Kingsley, but they wisely confined their efforts to propaganda, avoiding the risky schemes of producer co-operatives that had brought disaster to the earlier movement.

Yet the later Christian Socialists societies also soon dropped from view. The effect of their propaganda, though difficult to estimate, was certainly not decisive. They contributed to the demand for the use of Christian standards of morality and justice in finding solutions for social evils. But Anglicanism was never won over to a socialist point of view. Nor were the voters in working-class constituencies who elected in the following years socialist Labour representatives to Parliament much influenced by societies that were so largely composed of Anglicans. Workingmen tended to be prejudiced against Anglican societies and Anglican divines because the Established Church represented privilege, upper-class coercion, the old order. Also, non-conformity, with an accompanying anti-Anglicanism, was characteristic of the mining and textile districts from whence came so many of the early socialist leaders. None of the Christian Socialist organizations ever exercised

¹ Sidney Webb, "Socialism in England," *Publications of the American Economic Association*, Vol. IV (1889), p. 28.

² Donald O. Wagner, *The Church of England and Social Reform since 1854* (New York, 1930), p. 227.

a wide appeal, nor did they play any direct part in the foundation of the Labour Party in 1900, set up as the Labour Representation Committee.

The source of the very real influence of Christian ideals on the early Labour movement came more through the Protestant dissenting sects than through Anglicanism. And more influential than the Christian Socialist societies were the individual religious-minded laymen, most commonly nonconformist, who took their religiously inspired vision of a better world into their trade-unions and into their political organizations. A biographical approach to Labour Party history reflects the power that religiously inspired beliefs had upon the movement.

Religious influences upon the lives of the most famous of the early leaders of the Labour movement are well documented. The principal political figure among the labor-socialists at the turn of the century was the Scots miner, Keir Hardie. Hardie was the great missionary for socialism among the working class, the principal founder in 1893 of the socialist propaganda society known as the Independent Labour Party, which achieved great success in bringing socialism into the trade-unions. In the two decades before the First World War, Hardie was recognized as the labor-socialist spokesman in Parliament. His was the guiding hand over the Labour Party in those formative years.

Although his parents were freethinkers, Hardie joined the Evangelical Union long before he became interested in socialism. His religious choice was perhaps largely based upon that sect's rejection of the sterner elements in Calvinist theology for a hopefulness that was more congenial to Hardie's character. Soon Hardie was substituting for the appointed minister in the pulpit and in line with his church's views on liquor became Grand Worthy Chief of the local temperance lodge. "Labour and liquor don't mix," Hardie believed all his life, but he saw no incompatibility in a mixture of Christianity, trade-unionism, and socialism. Socialism came to be for him "the embodiment of Christianity in our industrial system."³ In his speeches he appealed to workers and members of Parliament in the name of human brotherhood, often using the language of the Bible. Hardie had no sympathy for Marxian doctrines and contributed articles to his paper, the *Labour Leader* on subjects such as "An Indictment of the Class War" in which he argued that socialism does not desire to pit class against class, but rather desires to remove the causes that produce this antagonism. A telling piece of socialist propaganda was his pamphlet titled *Can a Man Be a Christian on £1 a Week?*

Hardie's contempt for persons who profess a Christianity they do not

³ *British Weekly*, Jan. 18, 1894, as quoted in Henry Pelling, *The Origins of the Labour Party, 1880-1900* (London, 1954), p. 148.

practice spilled forth in bitter words as in his Christmas message of 1897 in the *Labour Leader*:

When I think of the thousands of white-livered poltroons who will take the Christ's name in vain, and yet not see his image being crucified in every hungry child, I cannot think of peace. . . . If the spiritually-proud and pride-blinded professors of Christianity could only be made to feel and see that the Christ is here present with us, and that they are laying on the stripes and binding the brow afresh with thorns, and making Him shed tears of blood in a million homes, surely the world would be made more fit for His Kingdom. We have no right to a merry Christmas which so many of our fellows cannot share.⁴

Associated with Hardie in the Labour Party and guiding its growth as party secretary between 1911-34 was Arthur Henderson. When sixteen years old, Henderson had been brought into the active work of the Wesleyans and in the opinion of his brother, "For Arthur, life began when he was converted."⁵ His responsibilities as a lay preacher led him to devote the hours not spent at the iron foundry in reading the sermons of Wesley, Spurgeon, Talmadge, and Hughes. Together with the Bible these were the books that had most influenced his life, he later told the editor of *Review of Reviews*.⁶ From the Wesleyan emphasis on conduct and fellowship, the encouragement given at the chapel to express himself, and its atmosphere of co-operative helpfulness, Henderson moved into trade-unionism and politics. There he sought to realize his religious ideals. His mind was too much that of a practical politician to entertain any visions of a Utopia. A society organized on socialist rather than capitalist lines, however, would make it easier for a man to follow the precepts of Christ, Henderson believed. Late in life, acting in part through religious conviction, he threw all his energy into the cause of disarmament at Geneva. For his energy and sincerity in the cause of peace Henderson was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. In one of his last public appearances, preaching in the main church of the Dorchester circuit in 1934, he reaffirmed the belief of a Christian socialist that "Christ came to secure the application of Christian principles in every day affairs. Religion . . . was intended to permeate society and produce a perfect Christian state on earth."⁷

A colleague of Hardie and Henderson was Philip Snowden, one of the most popular speakers and the financial expert of the party. Snowden joined the socialists in 1894, helped bring the Labour Party to birth, served in Parliament for nearly a quarter of a century and as chancellor of the exchequer in the Labour governments of 1924 and 1929. In his autobiography

⁴ Quoted in William Stewart, *J. Keir Hardie* (London, 1921), p. 132.

⁵ Mary Agnes Hamilton, *Arthur Henderson* (London, 1938), p. 33.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 447-48.

Snowden records his debt to the Wesleyan chapel he attended from childhood. He admitted that his socialist propaganda "derived its inspiration far more from the Sermon on the Mount than from the teachings of the economists."⁸ The success of his socialist oratory lay in its spiritual quality, and he acknowledged its "Come to Jesus" appeal. "I can compare it to nothing but those tides of spiritual revivalism that periodically sweep over the land," a journalist reported of Snowden's campaign at Blackburn for a Commons seat in 1900. "He has touched politics with morality and morality with religion."⁹

Associated with Henderson and Snowden for many years was George Lansbury, who was the main force behind the Labour newspaper, the *Daily Herald*, in its critical period from 1913 to 1924. After the disastrous split in the Labour Party in 1931, when MacDonald left his colleagues to head a National Government controlled by Conservative votes, Lansbury was elected leader of the party. In those later years of his life he enjoyed among the rank and file a devotion that reflected their recognition of Lansbury as a great-hearted Christian idealist after the model of Keir Hardie. At sixteen, Lansbury had experienced a religious conversion under the influence of the Anglican vicar of Whitechapel, the Reverend J. Fenwick Kitto, which left a lasting influence upon him. Near the end of his life Lansbury was still asserting that the message of Jesus and His disciples, "not changed in essence in the twenty centuries since the Crucifixion, but only applied with commonsense to modern conditions, is the message in which I firmly believe as a Socialist."¹⁰ Lansbury's pacifism—an attitude he shared with a number of other Labour men of his generation—was partly Christian in its inspiration. So strong was his pacifism that, quoting "all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword," he resigned from the highest position in the party in 1935 rather than support rearmament measures that he feared would lead to war.¹¹

This tradition of a spiritual commitment, though not always a formal religious one, among the leaders of the party has continued to the present day. The only two Labour prime ministers—Ramsey MacDonald and Clement Attlee—held strong Christian-ethical beliefs though they were not strong church members of the Hardie or Henderson type. The politicians whom journalists refer to as "saintly," as the late Sir Stafford Cripps, are almost certain to be of the Labour Party. Among recent Labour Party Cabinet

⁸ Philip Snowden, *An Autobiography* (London, 1934), Vol. I, p. 63.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 82, 98–99.

¹⁰ George Lansbury, *Looking Backwards and Forwards* (London, 1935), p. 243.

¹¹ For Lansbury's Christian pacifism, see the excerpts from his resignation speech to the Labour Party Conference at Brighton, October 1, 1935, as given in Raymond Postgate, *The Life of George Lansbury* (London, 1951), pp. 302–303.

ministers, A. V. Alexander, first lord of the admiralty under the Churchill wartime coalition government and minister of defense in Attlee's government of 1945, had been a Baptist lay preacher, and it appears that his first interest in socialism arose out of his religious pondering.¹²

Not so well appreciated is the strength of religious influences on many of the less important leaders of the trade-unionist and socialist movements around the turn of the century. Examination reveals a common type of trade-union leader who gained an education, a broader outlook, and experience both in dealing with men and in public speaking in the chapel, thus permitting him to assume a leading part in trade-union activities. Often his acceptance of socialism came naturally out of the teachings of his church.

A man of this type was the Durham miners' leader, Jack Lawson, now Lord Lawson. He was brought up in the Methodist chapel where, in his own words, "I was encouraged to express myself; to preach and to speak. I was given their warm, helpful friendship, . . . opportunity for development."¹³ Lawson became a Methodist lay preacher, a strong trade-unionist, a socialist, and under three Labour governments held various offices, including the position of secretary for war in 1945-46.

Another early trade-union socialist and staunch Wesleyan was David Shackleton, of the textile workers. Shackleton was one of the four Labour delegates in the House of Commons in 1905, the other three being Hardie, Henderson, and Will Crooks. Crooks too is described as an "ardent practicing Christian."¹⁴ That first small foundation delegation of the Labour Party were all religious men, who had as much practice in presiding at church gatherings as at Labour meetings. A socialist of similar stamp was Hardie's close friend Frank Smith, who had turned to socialism after he became convinced that his work as a Salvation Army organizer did not drive deep enough.¹⁵

The argument of the late-nineteenth-century Christian socialists was that Englishmen failed to approach a Christian mode of life because economic conditions made a truly Christian life impossible. The capitalist system is based on self-interest, requires competition and struggle, results in the jungle law "Eat or be eaten!" they said. How then could Christ's teaching of service, brotherhood and love ("love" translated into economics was spelled "co-operation") be realized under the capitalist system? Only when

¹² Biographical sketch of A. V. Alexander by T. N. Shane in Herbert Tracey (ed.), *The British Labour Party* (London, 1948), Vol. III, p. 61.

¹³ Jack Lawson, *A Man's Life* (London, 1932), pp. 113-14.

¹⁴ Tracey, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 187.

¹⁵ Robert Smillie, *My Life for Labour* (London, 1924), p. 98.

private ownership of capital is replaced by communal ownership can a Christian society be established, they maintained.

Not all religious-minded workingmen's leaders immediately saw in socialism a political philosophy consistent with their religious beliefs, however. English liberalism, with its emphasis on individualism, was quite in harmony with the individualistic chord that rang out so clearly for many Victorians. Under the leadership of Gladstone the Liberal Party stood forth as the party of morality, the champion of Christian peoples of the Balkans against the Turks, the guardian of the nonconformist conscience. Many late-nineteenth-century trade-union leaders preferred to co-operate with the Liberals in politics rather than to support an infant Labour Party with its close socialist tie. Every election around the turn of the century saw a dozen or more trade-union leaders gaining local Liberal Party approval; if elected, they voted with the Liberals in Parliament. Such representatives were commonly known as "Liberal-Labour," popularly contracted to "Lib-Lab." Double allegiance to a laboring man's outlook and Liberal Party measures was particularly strong in the coal-mining districts, where Wesleyanism and Primitive Methodism exerted great influence. For instance, Benjamin Pickard, a leader of the Wesleyans, a Sabbatarian, total abstainer and nonsmoker, and the dominating personality in the Miners Federation of Great Britain, held a seat in Commons as a Lib-Lab from 1885 to 1904. After his death his place in Parliament and in the Miners Federation was taken by Enoch Edwards, who had been a Sunday School teacher and lay preacher in the Primitive Methodist Church.

Another Lib-Lab miners' representative was John Wilson, who had been converted to Primitive Methodism at thirty-one after a roaming, drinking and gambling career characteristic of many miners. Under the influence of his church, Wilson embarked on a course of self-improvement leading to his appointment as lay preacher. Only thereafter did he become active in union affairs and in politics.¹⁶

The Primitive Methodist Church was especially influential among the coal and lead miners and iron workers in the north of England. Their lay preachers monopolized the positions of influence in the trade-unions. Though usually supporting the Liberal Party, the Primitive Methodists tended toward the radical left. Their magazine at times took a near-socialist position,

¹⁶ John Wilson, *Memories of a Labour Leader* (London, 1910). Robert F. Wearmouth in Chapter VII of his *Methodism and the Struggle of the Working Classes 1850-1900* (Leicester, England, 1954) gives brief sketches of no fewer than forty-one leading figures in the trade-union movement at the end of the century who were closely connected with one or more of the Methodist sects.

as when it editorialized on the reason for the distress in the mining districts in 1893. The cause, the editor asserted, lay in "the competitive strife that goes on under the name of trade. . . . Prices are cut down by the keenness of competition, and then the workman has to suffer. . . . He must make less serve, so that the great capitalist companies and employers of his labour may not suffer in reduced dividend and profit."¹⁷

Gradually these trade-union leaders deserted the Liberals to enroll under the banner of the class-conscious Labour Party, where a deliberately fostered Christian emphasis made them feel more at home. They could more easily accept socialist argument if such argument was drawn from the Bible by men who so often had a large element of Puritanism in their make-up. When the miners' representatives accepted the Labour whip in 1910, they were a welcome addition to Labour ranks. It was in part to spare their feelings that an unmistakably socialist plank was not inserted in a Labour Party manifesto till 1918, when the party made bold to demand "the common ownership of the means of production." A British trade-union leader of strong religious feeling might hesitate for other reasons to accept socialism. But in the religious climate of working-class England at the time there were few obstacles. And to many men socialism appeared from the first as the way by which a true Christian life might be realized.

Of course, there were many working-class leaders whose allegiance was more to the pub than to the chapel. Particularly in London, workingmen's leaders did not try to tie socialism to Christianity; hence in London the socialist-labor movement was much more secular in tone than elsewhere. Yet Labour men of irreligious views rarely exhibited positive animosity toward the churches, even the Establishment. Thereby they differed greatly from their counterparts on the Continent.

It is likewise true that many thoughtful socialists, particularly in the Fabian Society, were freethinkers and little influenced by Christian socialism. This helped to make the Fabians suspect in workingmen's circles. When Sidney Webb argued that the perfect development of each individual took second place to the improvement of the social machine¹⁸ he roused no cheers among church-going evangelical socialists, with their essentially individualistic religious faith. The movement refused to accept the Webb view of the proper place of the individual over against the state. Instead, approved theory as stated by a future prime minister emphasized that the wealth of a society is in its variety, not in its uniformity: "The aim of

¹⁷ *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, as quoted in Wearnmouth, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

¹⁸ Sidney Webb in *Fabian Essays in Socialism*, ed. G. Bernard Shaw (London, 1889), p. 58.

socialism is to give greater freedom to the individual," said Attlee,¹⁹ and though argument may develop over the success of the Labour Party in attaining this objective in practice, the theory so remains.

Friction between the more rationalistic Fabians and the more religious socialists outside the Fabian Society also developed. As their name was meant to imply, the Fabians avoided a frontal attack upon capitalist society. Their aim was to infiltrate any and every political party or group that might be persuaded to adopt a socialist idea. They tried to permeate the Conservative and Liberal parties as well as Labour, for they believed that only through evolutionary development of existing institutions could socialism triumph. These Fabian tactics of permeation implied an absence of conscientious scruples in the opinion of some socialists, who complained that Fabianism hurt the cause by permitting conservatives to allege that socialists lacked principle.²⁰

One of the strongest appeals that British socialism exerted was the promise to mitigate the gross economic inequalities existing in British society. Here too Christian doctrine has been freely drawn upon for inspiration. Ready reference has been made to the Bible to justify demands for more equality. In regard to specific doctrines, such as equality, and in regard to the philosophy of socialism as a whole, their religious beliefs have given many socialists an inner certainty that they were devoting their lives to a holy cause as well as a good cause. The Christian view of man as able to choose the good and the true, the Christian directive to help your neighbor, the desire to reshape society in a Christian design all contributed to the development of British socialism. Hence, enthusiasm among the workers of the movement was more easily maintained in the face of the inevitable setbacks in politics of a new party striving for recognition. When their feet began to flag, the knowledge that they were embarked on a God-entrusted course gave many socialists renewed vigor. And under an aura of evangelical Protestantism, socialism gained a sympathetic hearing in quarters where otherwise it could not have hoped to gain entrance. In many areas of Britain a proper tone to a socialist meeting was set when it opened with group singing of Elliott's "When Wilt Thou Save Thy People? O God of Mercy! When?" In centers of strong religious feeling, as parts of Scotland, Lancashire, Yorkshire, and South Wales, socialism identified itself closely with Protestant Christianity and found advance the more rapid.

Not that the identification of socialism with Christianity was always easy.

¹⁹ Clement Attlee, *The Labour Party in Perspective* (London, 1937), p. 139.

²⁰ Joseph Burgess, *A Potential Poet? His Autobiography and Verse* (Ilford, Essex, England, 1927), p. 162.

In Wales, many of the religious leaders associated socialism with materialism and atheism. The Welsh religious revival in 1904-05 arose in part as a reaction against materialistic socialism. In its emphasis on the personal experience of repentance and salvation, the revival sought to turn men's minds away from a too-great concern with this life. Yet the effect of the revival was to bind the Welsh workers in firmer bonds of brotherhood and trade-unionism. The original emphasis on things of the next world gradually gave way to an increased interest in economic and social questions. The Welshman who told a foreign visitor, "Socialism has lost nothing by the revival, and trade-union membership has not suffered in any way" was essentially correct.²¹

It was not just by chance that socialists who could speak in the language of the Bible were elected to Parliament and became the leaders in working-class politics. The laboring man, particularly in the mining and textile districts, could understand and could trust leaders who couched socialism in Christian terminology. He was repelled by men who talked in terms of "economic determinism" and "class war." "When I was touring as a lecturer ten years ago," wrote the socialist organizer Joseph Burgess about 1906, "in nearly every house that offered me hospitality the walls of the bed-chambers were hung with Scripture texts."²²

So strong was this desire for a religious atmosphere among some who felt attracted to the socialist movement that they formed a Labour Church, which could give them the outward forms of religion without any embarrassing set beliefs. The Labour Church had no dogma and almost no doctrine except belief in the immanence of God and subscription to Christian ethics. The fact that its founder, John Trevor, had been straitly reared in a small Baptist sect that found authority in Scripture for the acceptance of both predestination and free will—and worried not about the contradiction—may help to explain his distrust of doctrine. After leaving his Baptist sect, Trevor experienced a series of spiritual crises which ended with his acceptance of a liberal Unitarian position. In middle life he abandoned his profession of architecture to enter the ministry and was given charge of a Unitarian church in Manchester. But soon he found even the Unitarian degree of organized doctrine too constraining. Though an individualist in religious matters, Trevor had already become a socialist from hatred of the consequences of

²¹ C. R. Williams, "The Welsh Religious Revival, 1904-5," *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. III (September, 1952), p. 253. Williams concludes (p. 258) that "the revival seems to have checked the drift toward militant socialism. . . . Socialism continued to grow [in Wales], but it seems to attempt to justify itself after 1904 rather more on ethical and moral grounds than had been the case previously."

²² Letter to Robert Blatchford quoted in Laurence Thompson, *Robert Blatchford* (London, 1951), p. 183.

the individualist economic system he saw around him. He read the report of the Sweating Commission and accepted socialism "as the great constructive principle of future industrial and social development."²³ He became convinced that in the cities even the Unitarian churches were run by and for the middle class. When a former church member whom he met on the street explained that "he liked me, he liked my sermons, but he could not stand the atmosphere of the Church. He could not breathe freely," Trevor decided to found a workingman's church. "I wanted a religion that would place a man and a Church side by side with God, as fellow workers with him in unfolding the progressive life of Humanity."²⁴

The first Labour Church was established in Manchester in 1891, and in the next decade perhaps thirty were founded in various parts of Britain. A monthly magazine, a Labour Church Hymn Book, and a series of Labour Prophet Tracts were published in the last decade of the century. Trevor appealed to socialists to emancipate themselves in their religious life as they were seeking to emancipate their industrial life: "You are seeking to set free the social instincts of man from the false theories and cruel customs that now crush them. Seek to set free his religious instincts also."²⁵

Trevor desired a church that would be a refuge where socialist workers could find "the peace of God which passeth all understanding" and strengthen their souls for the conflict of the morrow. "God is most to be found," he believed, "not where he is most talked about, but where human life is being most forwarded, and human energy most aroused from within to fresh conquests over material conditions."²⁶ He wrote of his church's abandoning "Tradition for Life and Theology for the Living God." And indeed the Labour Church had nothing that could be called a theology. To some it appeared no church at all, but a political organization in masquerade.

Never did the Labour Church attract many people. After 1900 the movement disintegrated rapidly. Its significance lies not so much in the numbers influenced by Labour Church ideas as in the evidence it presents of the groping of one group of British socialists to establish a firmer religious base for their economic beliefs—in providing another example of the tie in England between socialism and New Testament morality.

No better example of the continuing strength of late-Victorian evangelical feeling among British socialists is to be found than in the contro-

²³ John Trevor, *My Quest for God* (London, 1897), p. 220.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 241, 233.

²⁵ "The Labour Church in England" (Labour Prophet Tracts, No. 4) as quoted in *ibid.*, end papers.

²⁶ "Our First Principle" (Labour Prophet Tract, No. 3) as quoted in *ibid.*, end papers.

versy over religion raised by Robert Blatchford and his most influential socialist newspaper, the *Clarion*. Blatchford had no use for formal religion. Lacking any element of Puritanism in his character, he aimed at making socialists as jolly as his paper. The goal of his socialism was expressed in the title of his most popular pamphlet, *Merrie England*. Through his paper he founded the Clarion Fellowship and Clarion Cycling Clubs to bring fun into drab lives. Unlike the Hardie and Henderson type of socialist, Blatchford distrusted men who never touched an alcoholic drink or lit a smoke. In turn they distrusted him. Then in 1903, Blatchford struck out against people who think themselves Christian, yet will not practice what they preach. His arguments were not so different from the bitter reproaches of a Hardie on the same theme, but Blatchford's tone was that of a rationalist accusing the churches themselves of intolerance and hypocrisy. *God and My Neighbour*, a series of articles reprinted in pamphlet form, was interpreted by many as a blasphemous attack on Christianity by a man who admitted his lack of religious belief. He might explain that his morality was merely "a modern reading of the Golden Rule"; a reviewer in the *Methodist Times* might testify to Blatchford's character by stating that he would rather stand before Christ's Judgment Seat with Blatchford than with men "as orthodox as the Devil";²⁷ but Blatchford also said, "I oppose Christianity because it is not true." Friends complained that he was alienating many socialists as he changed the old question: "Can a man be a Christian and NOT a Socialist?" to a new question: "Can a man be a Christian AND a Socialist?"²⁸

When Blatchford embarked after 1904 on a campaign to arm Britain for the war he saw preparing in Germany, his militaristic editorials further offended his socialist readers. Again Blatchford was shown to be out of touch with the moral base of the popular socialist movement, for the hatred of war expressed by many pre-1914 British socialists had its roots as much in Christian pacifism as in socialist ideals of international working-class solidarity. Blatchford and the *Clarion* never recovered their former influence in the socialist movement.

The fate of Blatchford was the fate of any socialist leader who took a pronounced rationalist stand. Decidedly repellent to the majority of Englishmen was the antichurch attitude of Continental radicalism. When Marx spoke of the "opium of the people," and asserted that religious beliefs were determined by the economic structure of society at that particular stage of development; when Bakunin referred to the Church as the State's younger brother performing part of elder brother's dirty work by preaching the doctrine of a world ruled by a supreme authority against which man had

²⁷ Quoted in Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 166, 183.

no right to rebel; when Bakunin repeatedly pictured God as the symbol of unfreedom and inequality, then neither Bakunin anarchism nor Marxian communism could hope for a sympathetic ear in England. The strange contradiction that Marx, who lived most of his active life in England, who calculated that England as the most advanced industrial nation would be the first to fulfill his predictions, who drew his examples from the Parliamentary Blue Books, yet had less influence in England than in any other major European nation is to be explained largely by the fact that his doctrine appeared so hostile to Christian teaching. Emphasis on the class struggle and the inevitability of bloody revolution repelled a large body of Englishmen who otherwise might have been sympathetic to Marx's "scientific" brand of socialism. For the forefront of the British Labour movement already was composed to a very large extent of Bible-readers and chapel-goers under the influence of a Christian Socialist ideal. After 1884, the Social Democratic Federation, led by H. M. Hyndman, preached Marxian socialism with determination and enthusiasm. Never did the S.D.F. enroll more than a handful of members or elect a single candidate to the House of Commons.

The close tie between socialism and Christianity in Britain posed to the socialist propagandist a nice problem: how reconcile the materialist emphasis of socialism with the antimaterialism implicit in Christian thought? The socialist appeal was to the laboring man, with its promise of better working conditions and a higher standard of living; these were the goals—practical, mundane, unspiritual. How could such goals be squared with the tenor of Biblical teaching as emphasized by Victorian evangelicalism? Hardie for one realized the problem that the movement faced. At one time he feared "the labour movement would founder on the rocks of materialism. Bread and butter politics were in the ascendent, and men spoke and wrote as if bread and butter were the end and the means."²⁹ On the whole, however, the socialist propagandists were able to blur any contradiction between their ideals. Hardie insisted that "material things are but useful in so far as they serve to aid in developing character."³⁰ Capitalism was cast in the role of the greedy and money-grubbing society, and Hardie, for instance, in arguing for socialism before the House of Commons, could assert that the question was that "propounded in the Sermon on the Mount, as to whether or not we will worship God or Mammon. The present day is a Mammon-worshipping age. Socialism proposes to dethrone the brute-god Mammon and to lift humanity into its place."³¹

²⁹ *Labour Leader* (January, 1893) as quoted in Pelling, *The Origins of the Labour Party*, p. 148.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ 92 Hansard's Parl. Deb. 1179-80 (4th Ser. 1901).

The ease with which religious men in the last decades of the nineteenth century could shift from Christian preaching to socialist teaching suggests the change that had come to the evangelical climate of Victorian religion. Many of these Christian socialists were as enthusiastic as their evangelical counterparts of a century earlier, but the direction of their message was much less in terms of the next world than of this world. Whereas earlier evangelicals, whether Methodists or of the Hannah More type, had preached contentment with one's lot in this world and looked to the realization of the promise of the next, socialists of Christian ideals worked to bring life on earth here and now a bit closer to heaven.

In the attempt of British socialists to reconcile their materialistic socialism with the elevation of the spiritual aspect of life, they were aided by the growth of immanentism in British religious thought. The transcendental outlook of the earlier part of the century was replaced by an immanentist outlook that was greatly influenced by Darwinism. Religion was increasingly reconciled with Darwinism on the basis that God reveals himself through processes going on within the universe rather than beyond and above the universe. God is of and in this world; and so socialist orators often maintained that the establishment of God's Kingdom on earth here and now was logical and holy. Hardie's fellow-worker Joseph Burgess wrote poems such as the one entitled "Thy Kingdom Come."⁸²

"Thy Kingdom Come!" the Churches daily pray,
Then why, O Lord, dost Thou Thy coming stay?
Is it that Thou art deaf to thine own prayer,
Or that, to more than mouth it, none now care?

"Thy Kingdom Come!" How can it come in fact
Till aspiration be with Boldness backed,
And from his throne of martyr-skulls is hurled
The Antichrist who dominates the world?

"Thy Kingdom Come!" The theologian lies
Who says that we must seek it in the skies!
"Thy kingdom Come!" We who its meaning know
Work that Thy Kingdom may come here below!

Socialism made rapid progress in Britain because, though the goals were materialistic, the spirit of the movement was not. Snowden, speaking of his lecture tours among the working people during the last five years of the century, has said that "socialism to them was like a religion—the promise of a full spiritual life."⁸³ Again and again in the memoirs and biographies

⁸² Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

⁸³ Snowden, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 81.

of the pioneers and founders of British socialism recur phrases such as "the preaching of the movement" and "the gospel of socialism." A great deal of the appeal of socialism as a mass movement lay in the fact that it promised to many men that after the materialistic goals had been realized—but only thereafter—the spiritual side of man's being could be developed. This strong tie between Christianity and socialism in Britain helps to explain the program, the enthusiasm, the successes of the Labour Party. And the weakening of the religious tie in recent years may help to explain some of the uncertainty, the lack of direction, the loss of much of the emotional appeal and of the fervor earlier characteristic of Labour.

Book Reviews

edited by

H. MALCOLM MACDONALD

WILLIAM S. LIVINGSTON: *Federalism and Constitutional Change*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1956. 380 pages. \$6.75.

This book makes significant contributions in two areas of comparative government. Although it is primarily a study of the constitutional-revision process in several national states, it also contains much sage exposition on the nature of federalism.

Livingston begins with a chapter on the general aspects of federalism. He makes clear that the proper study of this phenomenon requires going beyond legal form into actual practice, and then penetrating the characteristics of the society that proposes its use. He also reminds us not to think in black-versus-white terms when dealing with unitary and federal forms; a spectrum or scale is more appropriate.

Having established federalism as a relative, not an absolute, term, the author proceeds to relate political federalism, with its emphasis on territorial division of function and authority, to various forms of pluralism. Among the types of "instrumentalities" commonly found in federal government, he lists written constitution, formal distribution of powers, constitutional interpretation, representation in central legislature, dual citizenship, and the federal executive.

Because the central focus of the work is formal constitutional amendment, it is entirely appropriate that the initial and most extensive case study should be Canada. That nation's long quest for agreement on modes of constitutional revision, still unsettled, has raised searching questions regarding the nature of the Canadian Confederation and Canada's relation to the United Kingdom.

The Australian portion of the story is well told. Equipped with a constitution of twentieth-century vintage and a model democratic amending clause, Australia has experienced more difficulty adopting amendments than have other nations with far more rigid constitutions. Further study of the reasons for Australian reluctance to alter fundamental law might be rewarding. Apparently arriving too late for inclusion in the Livingston bibliography is Leicester Webb, *Communism and Democracy in Australia, A Survey of the 1951 Referendum*, a remarkable study of the Australian amending process—and of politics down under.

The chapter on Switzerland is pleasant and important reading. Swiss institutions are probably less well known among students of government than they were a generation or two ago. Switzerland's frequent use of its many and varied methods of constitutional revision continues to puzzle those of us

to whom Swiss society seems so stable and conservative. Judging from the list of subjects covered by amendments, a good deal of statutory matter is being written into the Swiss constitution, as it is in Louisiana and California.

Briefer treatment is given to several other countries. Inclusion of the United Kingdom, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa, though a little surprising at first, actually helps the reader to apply what he has learned and to recognize federal devices and spirit in countries that are unitary in legal form.

Among the several concluding observations made, I liked best the author's stress on the incompatibility of real federalism and dictatorship, on the one hand, and strict majority rule, on the other. Democracy and tolerance are among the *sine qua non* of the federal spirit.

Dean E. McHenry
University of California
Los Angeles

OTIS DUDLEY DUNCAN and ALBERT J. REISS, JR.: *Social Characteristics of Urban and Rural Communities, 1950*. New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1956. 421 pages. \$6.50.

This is the fourth publication in the Census Monograph Series based on the data from the 1950 Censuses of Agriculture, Population, and Housing. The series was planned by the Social Science Research Council, with the assistance of the Russell Sage Foundation, and is now being executed under the sponsorship of the former agency. Social scientists will welcome the resumption of the systematic analysis of the extensive census data after a gap of thirty years

since the publication of the dozen monographs of the 1920's.

The Duncan-Reiss monograph is based mainly on statistics assembled for the Special Report of the Census Bureau, "Characteristics by Size of Place," which uses a 3 1/3 per cent sample of the 1950 enumeration. The "independent" variables, or the "determinants" of difference among the communities, are size and spatial organization, growth and decline, and functional specialization. The most-used classification of place includes urbanized areas and places outside urbanized areas, with four or five sizes of classes each, and other rural areas—nonfarm and farm. The referent to spatial organization also includes, for part of the analysis, central cities, suburbs, urban fringe, and independent cities. Considered as "dependent" variables are the so-called social characteristics of the population—age, sex, color, fertility, income, mobility, and schooling. Tabular materials and discussion are organized around the general hypothesis that "differentiation among communities in one or another of these basic characteristics is associated with variation in other characteristics."

The authors have produced a comprehensive study of the statistical relationships among demographic and socioeconomic variables as applied to the typology of place and measurable through census data. They have shown ingenuity in simplifying the presentation of tabular materials and adapting the more than two hundred tables and charts to standard-size book page. Among the many relationships described, two patterns stand out: gradual variation of the dependent variables along the entire range of place size, thus

supporting the idea of a rural-urban continuum; the other, gradual but slight differentiation among other dependent variables along the middle range of place size, but marked differentiation among these between unincorporated rural (farm and nonfarm) and adjacent classes and between the large metropolitan areas and urban places of smaller size.

J. L. Charlton
University of Arkansas

M. GARDNER CLARK: *The Economics of Soviet Steel*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1956. 400 pages. \$7.50.

In this trail-blazing work, Clark significantly illumines the past growth and future prospects of the Soviet iron and steel industry. Investment and locational policies are arrived at inductively from a factual edifice, which is surprising, both in its extent and relative firmness. Unquestionably, this quantitative core will prove an invaluable reference for the industry and area specialist alike.

The casual reader may feel burdened by the mass of detail, but Clark is, in no sense, a mere collector of facts. The data, carefully culled and processed, are viewed through the indispensable lens of economic analysis and are applied to questions of prime importance: Where was the new Soviet steel industry to be built, at what rate of speed, and how big? And, depending on the answers to those basic questions, with what results in the sphere of productivity?

The short compass of this review permits only a sampling of Clark's more provocative generalizations. Among them is his contention that any attempt

by the Russians to raise labor productivity to the level of our own would be "utterly irrational." Given their factor endowment, one would expect the Soviets to devote their primary energies to maximizing the productivity of capital, not labor, and this, he says, is exactly what they have done: "The productivity of Soviet blast furnaces and open-hearth furnaces is higher than our own, but the productivity of these same furnaces per worker is much less."

There is no disputing Clark's logic on this score: a high labor-capital ratio can render an emphasis on labor productivity inconsistent with efficient resource allocation. I should like to suggest, however, that his observations on the appropriate emphasis for the USSR have greater historical than current relevance. Moreover, I should be hesitant to impute a pervasive Soviet bias in favor of capital productivity. Indeed, Soviet ideology tends to promote undue emphasis on labor productivity. As Grossman has put it, "Technological supremacy and high labor productivity have been an integral part of the ideology of Soviet Communism since Lenin's day, and have been continuously regarded as prime political goals." Preferences for the most advanced technical design and the largest scale are reflected in the experience of the iron and steel industry, as well as in other sectors, the excessive economic cost notwithstanding. This "gigantomania," as the Soviets themselves have labeled it, more nearly fits the Grossman than the Clark thesis.

Clark's exhaustive investigations of economic geography are mainly responsible for his gloomy prognosis on the developmental prospects of the industry. He foresees no great difficulties in regard to future labor supply, a point

on which I differ slightly, but there can be no objection to his stress on the worsening of the resource situation as the principal braking factor. Shortages of high-grade ore and good coking coal are already apparent and will impose increasingly serious problems for long-term expansion. This does not mean that the Soviets will be unable to maintain their current absolute rate of growth of three to four million tons of steel per year, but they will be able to do so, according to Clark, "only by means of immense capital investments." Whether these investments can be spared from competing civilian and defense employments is by no means certain.

James H. Blackman
University of South Carolina

ROBERT ALLEN RUTLAND: *The Birth of the Bill of Rights, 1776-1791*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1955. 243 pages. \$5.00.

ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR.: *Three Human Rights in the Constitution*. Lawrence, University of Kansas Press, 1956. 246 pages. \$4.00.

The federal Bill of Rights, often cited as our palladium of liberties and taken for granted as such in many patriotic orations, had a difficult time being born. The history of this birth is the theme of Rutland's book. After a sketchy background analysis of the English and colonial traditions of civil liberty, the author reaches the meat of his book in Chapters Seven and Eight, where he deals with the relationship between the agitation for the protection of civil liberties to the politics of the

ratification of the Constitution. From a careful study of contemporary sources the author deduces the following: (1) The agitation for the inclusion of a Bill of Rights, though a convenient instrument in the hands of the anti-Federalists in their attack upon the Constitution, nevertheless represented a deeply held popular demand; (2) The Federalists, though with a few exceptions not adverse to the inclusion of civil rights protections in the new Constitution, failed at the beginning to sense the popular support behind the movement. When they did so, they skillfully used the issue as a point of compromise by promising the immediate amendment of the Constitution to protect civil liberties in exchange for votes for ratification of the basic instrument. This promise they kept, despite anti-Federalists' predictions to the contrary.

The value of this book lies in its careful tracing of the various political maneuvers leading up to the final acceptance of the amendments. Light is thus cast upon a rather dim and forgotten page of Constitutional development and a contribution is made to the study of the formative period of our federal system.

Chafee, long known as an outspoken defender of the liberties of free men, enlarges in his book upon lectures he delivered under the auspices of the University of Kansas School of Law. His theme antedates that of Rutland in that he is concerned with three rights which he views as safeguarded in the original Constitution: The right to freedom of debate in Congress, to freedom of movement, and to freedom from bills of attainder. He traces the growth of the demand for these rights far back into the political and historical evolution of

English institutions. The results of this research are then used to show why the framers felt so strongly on these points that they incorporated them into the Constitution. Indeed, in Chafee's opinion, as inheritors of the English tradition they could not have done otherwise.

The author does not stop there but drives home the point that this tradition, affirmed in the eighteenth-century Constitution, is still vital today. He urges us to learn the lessons of the past so that we may meet the challenges of the present. This is the theme of the book, and it can be summarized in the adage that constant vigilance is the price of safety. The work should be read in conjunction with his earlier one entitled *How Human Rights Got into the Constitution*, in which he deals, among other things, with the other great right of *habeas corpus*. Together the two books alert us to the vital character of the Constitutionally protected civil liberties and the need for recalling them today.

If there is validity in the saying that to know is to understand, then both Rutland and Chafee have advanced our understanding by augmenting our knowledge of the history, evolution, and contemporary significance of our traditional civil liberties. To this extent we stand in their debt.

H. Malcolm Macdonald
University of Texas

JOHN D. HOGAN and FRANCIS A. J. IANNI: *American Social Legislation*. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1956. 695 pages. \$6.60.

As it emerges from this new volume,

"American social legislation" is inescapably "social," occasionally "American" and almost never "legislation." Whatever meaning "social legislation" may have had in an individualistic society when first applied to Prussian statutes having communal welfare objectives, the phrase today seems tiresome and profitless. By definition all law is social and a nonsocial statute is a contradiction in terms. Such fundamental quibbles aside, "social," even as a convenient description, is hardly an accurate and precise category for including public-housing acts and excluding zoning ordinances, or for differentiating sterilization and birth-control laws—good honest social legislation—from euthanasia or homicide laws—which apparently are not.

In a common-law jurisdiction the output of legislatures, important as it is, hardly deserves exclusive or dominant emphasis; in formulating and reformulating the legal system the courts usually have the last word. As for "American," there is no such comfortable abstraction; we are dealing with forty-eight states plus the District of Columbia and the territories, not to mention a national legislature supreme in some areas and quite voiceless in others. In short, the whole notion of American social legislation no longer seems particularly serviceable to lawyers or social scientists.

The authors, one an economist and the other an anthropologist and sociologist, wisely pay only lip service to their book's title. They recognize that more than a "compendium of statutes" is required to meet the needs of the undergraduate student of the humanities, the specialist seeking to trace the impact of law on society, or the social worker in

search of professional tools. The book accordingly ranges wide, often with considerable insight into anthropology, economics, and history. The authors defer treating their three main fields of inquiry—family legislation, the labor movement and labor law, and social assistance and social insurance—for some 142 pages while pausing to examine social values, cultural patterns, and political processes, drawing on materials from Herodotus and the hill tribes of Madagascar to the Bureau of the Census. All this is interesting and much of it is helpful, though the effort to compress into Chapter 3 the entire development of social thought from pre-history to UNESCO seems painfully ambitious.

When the book deals with a statute such as the Taft-Hartley Act it is primarily as a socio-economic phenomenon. This approach unquestionably has great value. But statutes are also legal materials, which have to be interpreted and implemented and interpolated and applied. In the last few decades the creative function of the courts has become better understood just as it has become increasingly important. This receives scant consideration in a volume that (if memory and the index serve) mentions no American judge since Holmes, Brandeis, and Cardozo and does not even hint at the revolution in jurisprudence that has been taking place since Pound's studies in the twenties.

While the reader of this book could hardly recognize a statute if he saw one, he will have learned a good deal about the conditions and forces that may have brought it into being. If this is not the whole story, what is told, is told stimulatingly and well. The book should ac-

cordingly prove a boon to those who have struggled to teach in this area without benefit of this kind of text.

Erwin Ellmann
Wayne State University

JEROME DAVIS: *Religion in Action*.
New York, Philosophical Library,
1956. 391 pages. \$4.75.

To draw and develop a social philosophy from Christian thought has never been an easy task, and the complexities of the present only complicate the process. More than ever before, today's efforts in this field call for a keen sense of analysis that carefully avoids oversimplification, and oversimplification must be ranked as the major defect of this book.

Primarily concerned with matters of social justice, the author examines a number of controversial contemporary issues with a pronounced and often myopic bias. He vigorously and repeatedly condemns America's massive military expenditures, hammers unreservedly at any support of colonialism, attacks discrimination of all kinds, criticizes the capitalistic system in the severest tones, speaks almost reverently of organized labor, and dwells at lesser length on a host of other shortcomings—from air pollution to news monopoly. In keeping with this he lauds co-operatives and similar movements, endorses the neutralization of Germany, assigns to the prevailing struggle against communism a secondary status in the ultimate meaning of events, and praises warmly the irresistible march toward social righteousness that humanity has only started to make.

Yet such decided preference for the welfare state should not overshadow some of the sound thinking that this book contributes on other counts. In its relatively moderate comments on such topics as the family and criminology, and even more in its penetrating warnings against confining religion to the sanctuary alone, a number of enlightening and uplifting observations are set forth.

Though the over-all value of this volume is further reduced by repetition and its somewhat haphazard construction, no one can doubt the author's consecrated zeal for his viewpoints. In general, however, the force of this dedication is severely blunted by his tendency to let his convictions get the better of him. Not only does he dwell upon present evils to the extent of eclipsing present accomplishments, but in far too many instances he seems to assume that social justice must count as the only true test of religion. It is rarely wise to allow the standards of the particular to measure the stature of the universal.

Charles Warren Van Cleave
University of Texas

ERIK BARNOUW: *Mass Communication: Television, Radio, Film, Press*. New York, Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1956. 280 pages. \$3.50.

Since the middle of the nineteenth century, the media of mass communication have rapidly multiplied and become increasingly elaborate in technique. This development has vastly increased our power to disseminate ideas and information, but it has also given us a communication system baffling in its complexity. Processes once taken

largely for granted, we must now strive to understand.

Toward such an understanding, Barnouw contributes a book that is readable, inclusive, and full of insight, treating a broad range of subjects. In an introductory chapter, he puts the growth of mass communication in the perspective of history. He makes a perceptive analysis of the obsessions and taboos of popular books, films, and advertisements—arguing that their success in attracting mass audiences can be explained not on the basis of their superficiality but in their appeal to strong emotions. His discussion of the organization and commercial relations of the mass media is valuable, and his account of their production-and-distribution techniques especially so, for it acquaints the reader with the way those actually in the communications industries think of the potentialities and limitations of their instruments. Chapters on the use of the media by business, government, and other organizations illuminate the problems of access to the channels of mass communication. In dealing with each of these matters, the author combines generalization with illustrative detail in a way that should make his work welcome to teachers of politics and public opinion.

Though Barnouw has not chosen to advance any particular thesis, he is always sensitive to the social import of his story. For example, he demonstrates nicely one great irony in the growth of man's power to communicate by his comments on a statement made by a spokesman of the National Council of Churches to a meeting of religious broadcasters: "Any one of you here can reach with your voice at one time more people than Jesus did in His en-

tire ministry." This is true, says the author, or at least can be true for some. Yet Jesus, the prophet of a small, controversial, and persecuted minority, could in his own day speak to an audience as great as that of Caesar.

Stanley Kelley, Jr.
The Brookings Institution

E. P. HUTCHINSON: *Immigrants and Their Children, 1850-1950*. New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1956. 391 pages. \$6.50.

This is an excellent example of one of the uses made of the wealth of information available in the data secured by the United States Bureau of the Census. According to the author, "late in the 1940's, interested persons from business, research, and government agencies expressed the need for a series that would provide analyses of the most significant results of the 1950 Census." This, then, is "in part a survey and a guide to census data on immigrants and their children in the population and labor force," giving "particular attention to changes since 1920 in the composition and geographical distribution of the first and second immigrant generations."

This monograph is a supplement to, and a continuation of, Niles Carpenter's *Immigrants and Their Children*, published in 1927, bringing together data concerning immigrants in the United States taken from the censuses since 1850 down to and including that of 1920.

Hutchinson compares the occupational and geographical distribution of the foreign-born to that of the second generation. He predicts—somewhat ob-

viously—that the foreign-born population of this country will diminish in importance unless immigrants are allowed to come in in greater numbers.

Some of the problems influencing the validity of this study are: (1) Occupational data have not been collected under the same classification. Hutchinson had to regroup the 1910 and 1920 census data to conform to the 1950 classification. (2) Far-reaching changes—some occupations were even eliminated—have been brought about in the relative position of occupations because of the two world wars, the major social revolution that took place during 1930-40, the mechanization of agriculture, and the improvement in the techniques of mass production. (3) Both the number and type of immigrants entering this country were considerably affected by the quota acts of 1921 and 1924. (4) While census data may indicate that some immigrants assimilate more readily than do others, they do not explain why this is so. (5) The study is based on a 3 1/3 per cent sample of the enumerated population in 1950. Errors may be expected when a small sample is drawn from data representing many variables.

Hutchinson's monograph is a useful sourcebook on the adjustment to job opportunities by immigrants in the United States. It may profitably be used along with such books as Schermerhorn's *These Our People*, Brown and Roucek's *One America*, and Marden's *Minorities in American Society*.

Sandor B. Kovacs
University of Tulsa

PAUL HARE, EDGAR F. BORGATTA, and
ROBERT F. BALES (eds.): *Small*

Groups: Studies in Social Interaction. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1955. 666 pages. \$6.50.

This book of readings is divided into four parts, each prefaced by a short, integrative introduction. Part I treats the historical and theoretical background of the small-groups movement. Among the early theoretical contributions included in this section are excerpts from Durkheim's *Division of Labor* and Cooley's "Primary Groups." Current theoretical contributions include Lewin's "'Subjective' and 'Objective' Elements in the 'Social Field—The Three-Step Procedure'" and Moreno's "Contributions of Sociometry to Research Methodology in Sociology." Among the early research reports presented is Thrasher's "The Gang."

Part II contains a selection of research reports that view small-group interaction from the perspective of the functioning individual in social situations. One grouping of studies deals with the individual's social perception, while another group is concerned with the consistency of the individual.

Part III also takes a look at the small-group interactive process, but this time from the collective viewpoint. The group is perceived as a system of interaction, and the studies presented deal with the communication network, interaction and equilibrium, and leadership. Part IV is an annotated bibliography of 584 titles selected from the small-groups literature.

The book is an attempt to bring together the increasingly voluminous literature on small groups. In the selection of the studies presented, a major aim was to include those which it was

felt emphasized the advancement of scientific knowledge about small groups as contrasted to those studies concerned for the most part with application. Preference was given to original contributions in the field, in so far as possible.

The bibliography includes a topical index of considerable use. The index serves, however, to reveal the large emphasis on "variables" among the research reports included in the bibliography.

As a whole, the book is a worthwhile compilation of literature, though it does not provide the student with a well-integrated, readable text. Its chief usefulness will probably be in advanced work or as related course material. As in any readings text, there enters also the question of the authors' bias in the selection of articles included.

Reed M. Powell
Oklahoma University

JESSE BURKHEAD: *Government Budgeting.* New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1956. 498 pages. \$7.50.

At long last there has appeared a volume on budgeting that should prove to be a worthy successor to Buck's *Public Budgeting*. Since Buck's volume made its appearance in 1929 there have been a number of notable works in the budgeting field, some of them substantial books in their own right. But all these interim studies have either been limited to specialized aspects of the budget process or have been restricted to budgetary operations on one level of government. Burkhead has now closed this gap with a comprehensive treatment of

the total subject in which he covers historical development, theory, applications in national, state, and local governments in the United States, and, in certain specific areas, contrasts with foreign applications and experience.

One of the distinguishing characteristics of this book is its excellent organization. The eighteen chapters are divided into four parts of approximately equal length. Part I—"The Budget and Modern Government"—includes the historical background of present-day budgets in government, economic considerations in the budget process, the role of the budget in fiscal policy, and a brief summary of the steps and procedures composing "the budget cycle." Parts II and III, each with five chapters, cover "Budget Classification" and "The Phases of Budgeting," respectively. Appropriately enough, two of the chapters in Part II are concerned with performance budgeting and its application in federal, state, and local agencies in the United States. Other chapters in Part II deal with the classification by functions, character, and object, classification by economic character—a useful tool in national fiscal planning and the capital budget. Three of the chapters in Part III are given over to a detailed analysis of mechanical and procedural aspects of budgeting in the operating agency, the central budget office, and the legislative body, with emphasis on practice at the federal level. Adequate follow-through is given to the detail of preparation and adoption, with separate chapters on budget execution and accounting and auditing. In Part IV, the author concerns himself with such specialized problems as revenue-estimating, bud-

eting for public enterprise and economic development, and the economics of the so-called balanced budget.

In addition to its sound organization and orderly development of content, this volume is significant for its balance and comprehensiveness. Written as it is by an economist, it rightly emphasizes the economic aspects of the budgetary process and the importance of economic analysis to budgetary decisions. At the same time, this approach is not a deterrent to a full and eminently practical treatment of the political and administrative facets of the subject. The quality of comprehensiveness is manifest not only by inclusion of practices from all levels of American government and certain foreign applications but also by the attention given to the legislative and past-enactment phases of the budget process and the capital budget. More often than not, the latter are conspicuous by their absence from competent writings in this field. It is indeed gratifying that such is not the case here.

It should perhaps be pointed out that there is little in this volume which is not already known to the serious student of budgeting and which is available in fragmented form in many different sources. In pulling this vast amount of information together into a well-organized, superbly documented volume and interjecting the role of economics and economic analysis, however, the author has performed a distinguished service for students who will use the book as a text, for practicing budgeteers who need an encyclopedia for their profession, for administrators at all levels who need a deeper insight into the substance of budgetary de-

cisions, and for academicians whose work and interests touch upon the financial administration of governments.

Lynn F. Anderson
University of Texas

WILLIAM A. WILLIAMS (ed.): *The Shaping of American Diplomacy*. Chicago, Rand McNally & Company, 1956. 1,130 pages. \$7.50.

This volume of readings and documents in American foreign relations begins with the diplomacy of the American revolution and proceeds chronologically to the cold war with Russia and United States Far Eastern policy to 1954. Each section is preceded by a brief introduction in which the editor summarizes and comments on the articles and documents in the chapter. In the general introduction, Williams states that foreign relations can be better understood if the available information is properly organized and interpreted, that "foreign relations are influenced by economics, politics, military policy, and ideology; and that all four are interrelated." He also shows that every aspect of foreign policy is influenced by what policy-makers decide can be done with available national resources. The letters, articles, treaties, diplomatic correspondence, and addresses are selected to reflect these different viewpoints and so make possible a proper interpretation of diplomatic history.

Although the selections are well balanced in the political, military, and ideological fields, there is a tendency to overemphasize the economic aspects. For example, in the chapter dealing

with the crisis of 1898-1900, all but one of the articles deal with the economic problems. Similarly in the section on America and the First World War the political relationships, both domestic and foreign, are overshadowed by the economic.

Since the book is a combination of readings and documents, the editor will inevitably be accused of omitting vital documents. For example, none of the post-Second World War mutual-security treaties are reproduced. Any editor must exercise his judgment and exclude materials not essential to the illustration of his thesis. In the opinion of this reviewer, the editor has made very judicious selections and is to be complimented on the compilation of a volume that should give both the student and teacher a better understanding of American foreign policy.

Rufus G. Hall, Jr.
University of Oklahoma

HARRY B. ELLIS: *Heritage of the Desert: The Arabs and the Middle East*. New York, The Ronald Press Company, 1956. 311 pages. \$5.00.

The Middle East, as a culture area, has achieved some notoriety in recent years. Ellis' study is a newspaperman's report on the area, based upon his experience as a correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor*. This slender volume seeks to evaluate the basic problems, clashes of interest, and underlying causes of instability in the Arab world. Specifically, the author examines the region's history in twenty-two pages. He then gallops through the First World War and the mandate pe-

riod (in twenty-four pages) like a racing Arabian camel traversing the sands of Rub'al Khali or the wastelands of Texas. Several chapters then present the "search for unity among the Arabs," the difficulties of Westernization, and the threat of communism. The *coup de grace* is a swift tour through Lebanon, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and the Holy Land.

The author's primary purpose is to examine Arab disunity. When tracing the traditional rivalries between the desert and the sown, Hashemites and anti-Hashemites, and Christians, Moslems and Jews, his exposition is well diagrammed and concise. He also shows clearly that many of the more recent political rivalries are symptomatic of the economic and social changes occurring in the area. Indeed, as the author points out, the Arab world is gripped by profound dilemmas, including a proliferating population, limited resources, mounting popular expectations, and frustration born of insufficient fulfillment of its needs.

This volume is boldly written, and the panorama of Middle Eastern politics which it presents sweeps before the reader in multi-colored images. However, it cannot be recommended as a serious study, for it lacks conceptual sophistication and depth of analysis. The author does not satisfactorily identify the fundamental forces operative in this area—e.g., modernism, religious revivalism, and messianic ideologies. Such significant religio-political movements as the Moslem Brotherhood are virtually ignored. Furthermore, a considerable proportion of Ellis' material already has been overtaken by recent events. The result is a frothy book that has all the verbal icing but lacks suffi-

cient intellectual batter. This is a pity, for Ellis writes clearly and well.

William H. Lewis
Washington, D.C.

ELIEZER BERKOVITS: *Judaism: Fossil or Ferment?* New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1956. 176 pages. \$4.50.

THEODORE HUEBENER and CARL HERMANN VOSS: *This Is Israel*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1956. 166 pages. \$3.75.

Rarely does an individual feel constrained to produce an *Apologia pro Vita Sua* and justification for the life of an entire people is rarer still. The birth of modern Israel has occasioned much in the way of rationale to sustain the legitimacy of that fledgling state, but Rabbi Berkovits has felt called upon to join issue not only on this account but in a more fundamental cause. His conscience and the eminent Arnold Toynbee's appraisal of Judaism as "a fossil" have led him to re-examine the very basis of his faith and in so doing to smite the English scholar hip and thigh.

In a germane, but by no means comparable, effort Huebener and Voss have taken time from their academic duties (Voss is also chairman of the Executive Council, American Christian Palestine Committee) to pose a picture ". . . of the emergence of Israel out of its Palestine background." Their concise work essays to be an impartial presentation of the facts. Insofar as they neither blame nor stack the evidence against the Arabs they have succeeded. They have not succeeded where they have failed to mention the unpleasant,

nonpolitical factors of current Israeli life.

Granting every bit of credit to the Israeli, the facts remain that some Israeli are in prisons and some have venereal diseases. Others are in mental hospitals and a few (remarkably few) have committed suicide. People have troubles. Surely this too is Israel.

Bright or dismal as that Israel may be, Berkovits has written brilliantly, and acrimoniously, in his detailed, incisive criticism of Toynbee's appraisal of Judaism as an aberrant manifestation of a past that should, by all historical "laws," be buried. Superb as Berkovits' work is, at no time did he designate the role of that which Toynbee, to his own confusion, failed to perceive—the Jewish community.

Such communities are settled in many lands and are quite distinct from Jewish religion (which, Berkovits demonstrates, need not be dead or fossilized to preserve Toynbee's "laws" intact) and from the "Syriac civilization" of which the ancient Jews may once have been a part. Each of them embraces numbers of people of remarkably variant characteristics, theologies, and feelings of identification. By no means as unified or co-ordinated as many believe, they do, however, act in rough concert on matters of survival. Through such action Huebener and Voss's Israel was born.

Melvin Potter Straus
University of Texas

Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press,
1956. 421 pages. \$7.50.

It is now apparent that a certain "school," or tendency of thought, has gradually been taking a definite shape within political science during the some fifty years since political science could be considered a distinct and independent academic discipline. This school may be characterized as intending to be "scientific." Its exponents have sought to employ what they conceived to be the essentials of scientific method upon those political materials that seemed to be amenable to this treatment. Their aspiration has been toward the creation of a political science built around definitely formulated and empirically validated laws of behavior. In the beginning, the trend shows itself in essentially speculative treatments that seek to point to areas within which behavior *could*, with appropriate study, be made explicable by generalized empirical principles. Writings of Wallas, Bentley, and Merriam are reproduced to show these beginnings. These writers call essentially for new ways of looking at political phenomena, ways less circumscribed by the traditional concepts of law and the state.

There appears to be a second stage in this movement, not importantly represented in this volume probably because the findings did not turn out to cumulate in generalization. In this phase certain *specific* methods, generally regarded as scientific, were borrowed from other disciplines and employed without much theoretical sophistication upon *specific* collections of political data that lent themselves to this treatment. Many statistical studies of voting and attempts to "psychoanalyse"

HEINZ EULAU, SAMUEL J. ELDERSVELD, and MORRIS JANOWITZ (eds.): *Political Behavior: A Reader in Theory and Research*.

political movements or their leaders belong to this period.

A third and current phase of the movement is represented by a prolific outpouring of technical literature, most of it during the last ten years. It is this material that is mainly represented in the present collection. In contrast to that of the first period, this literature is less "literary," that is, less concerned with the esthetic presentation of new intuitional insights for their own sake. Unlike the material of the second period, this body of writing is no longer crudely empirical but is largely dominated by a desire for theoretical sophistication. The main intellectual influence appears to be the philosophical trend called "logico-empiricism." Although no subjects are dealt with that are not *supposed* to be amenable to empirical demonstration, the starting point is no longer bodies of data that happen to be already available in what seems to be a convenient form but is rather "hypotheses," "schemes," and "designs." The kinds of data needed and the specific methods suitable for their treatment are now treated as secondary questions that should be explored only after the nature of the problem and some hypothetical solutions have been worked out in intellectually rigorous fashion.

This will be a very valuable and perhaps nearly indispensable text for advanced courses in research methodology.

G. Lowell Field
University of Connecticut

CARL COKE RISTER: *Fort Griffin on the Texas Frontier*. Norman, Uni-

versity of Oklahoma Press, 1956. 216 pages. \$3.50.

A historian of national prominence recently stated that no section of the nation has experienced less history than west Texas, nor has managed to get such full mileage out of what history it has undergone. Accepting his thesis, here is another example of what he was talking about.

Fort Griffin, near present-day Albany, Texas, was but one of dozens of forts in United States history. It lasted only thirteen years, scarcely a decent generation. It was the scene of no major engagements. Yet it attracted one of the nation's better-known and more indefatigable historians, the late Carl Coke Rister of Texas Technological College, who left its completed story behind when he died.

And a neat story it is: a story of Indians and frontiersmen, and of big and little names in American history; of Lottie Deno and the Bee Hive Saloon; of the desperado Joe Bowers and the admirable Robert E. Lee; of buffalo hunters and cattle men; of *Comancheros* and supply problems; of just about everything that occupied the time of a fort and the settlement around it. If Rister left out anything of importance in his compact little book, this reviewer failed to detect it.

Fort Griffin was only one more way station on the road to the settlement of the West and the reduction of the Indian. But three-quarters of a century after it passed unmourned, it has come alive again to claim its paragraph in the larger history of the Old West.

Joe B. Frantz
University of Texas

WILLIAM A. ROBSON (ed.): *The Civil Service in Britain and France*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1956. 191 pages. \$3.50.

The essays that make up this book are primarily a description of British civil service structure, operation, and problems; they deal only briefly with France. The authors are undoubted experts in their respective fields—civil service administrators, statesmen, and professors. They often write with frankness and, to an already-informed person, reveal much about the operation of the civil service. This is no book, however, for the neophyte. It is a collection of highly specialized, illuminating articles that grew out of a special number of the *Political Quarterly* in commemoration of the centenary of the Trevelyan-Northcote report of 1854. Five new chapters have been added to the original essays, most of which have been revised and expanded.

Several threads run through the essays. Particularly evident is the lasting effect of the sudden expansion in the size and variety of functions of the civil service brought on by the Second World War. Another is the worry over the upper-class bias of the British recruiting system. Several authors point out that the class structure is shifting because of the greatly increased numbers of scholarships that enable poorer students to go to Oxford and Cambridge—the principal sources of high-level administrators. Also there is an increased possibility of transferring from the lower civil service classes into the administrative class. The authors are much more interested in top-level administrators than they are in the much more numerous lower-level peo-

ple. Particularly useful are the discussions of Treasury control of the entire civil service structure.

The two chapters on France deal with the theoretical underpinning of the French system as compared with the British, with a valuable summary of the several years of experience with the *École nationale d'Administration*, the recruiting device for top administrators.

For the informed reader, these essays will provide much food for thought and revealing insights into current civil service practices and problems.

Edward G. Lewis
University of Illinois

HERBERT BUTTERFIELD: *The Statecraft of Machiavelli*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1956. 167 pages. \$2.00.

Machiavelli's *Prince* has probably stirred more controversy than any other single treatise on the art of politics. Many authorities today see in Machiavelli the beginnings of modern political science. Hegel spoke of him as "a genuine political genius," and Bacon, writing in the seventeenth century, found him a kindred spirit who unfeignedly described what men do and not what they ought to do. But for such Elizabethan dramatists as Shakespeare, Marlowe, Beaumont, and Fletcher the name of Machiavelli was synonymous with hypocrisy, unprincipled trickery, cruelty, and crime. Probably general agreement on the real meaning of Machiavelli will never be achieved, and the controversy is likely to continue so long as he is read.

This latest analysis by Herbert Butterfield (who has been professor of

modern history at the University of Cambridge since 1944) contends that "the Elizabethan dramatists were not so wilfully wide of the mark as some writers have assumed." Utilizing the *Discourses* as well as the *Prince*, Butterfield presents a strong case for the view that Machiavelli was seeking to establish a universal science of statecraft conceived as a science of cunning that was something more than a drastic remedy for a desperate situation: "The man who was wholly good might be admirable but Machiavelli despised the wicked man who could not be wholly wicked—he taunted him with his squeamishness and argued that he would never achieve the greatest heights. His contemporaries had their tricks and their stratagems but they were not scientific enough. He differed from them in being consistent and in going more consciously to history to learn fresh devices. It is not in his cunning, indeed, but in his demand for greater consistency in cunning, above all in his demand for a more consciously scientific study of method, that he had something to teach even to the princes of Renaissance times."

It is a mistake, Butterfield thinks, to see in Machiavelli simply the application of the inductive method, and none, he argues, would be more surprised than Machiavelli himself to be told that his political maxims were simply the codification of the practices of the time. For Machiavelli was constantly telling the statesmen of his time what they ought to do, how they ought to behave, and he drew his examples not from the contemporary world but from history. Butterfield shows how closely Machiavelli followed the teaching of ancient writers, how much, for example, he

borrowed from Xenophon's *Hiero* and how the final chapter of the *Prince* resembles Isocrates' exhortation to Philip.

A final chapter on Bolingbroke, as an example of Machiavellian influence, is a valuable contribution to an understanding of that notorious politician. The author finds this influence particularly exemplified in *The Patriot King*, despite the criticism of Machiavelli to be found there, since essentially it elaborates the thesis that only a king can rescue a degenerate people.

Butterfield has brought to the study of Machiavelli the capacity for lucid analysis and the superior quality of literary style that we have come to associate with his work. He has attempted to examine Machiavelli's theories in the light of Machiavelli's own aims and avowed intentions and has succeeded remarkably well in freeing that analysis from the implications that the modern mind is tempted to read into him.

John H. Hallowell
Duke University

EDMUND A. MOORE: *A Catholic Runs for President: The Campaign of 1928*. New York, The Ronald Press, 1956. 220 pages. \$3.50.

The 1928 election campaign has long awaited an interpreter. The present volume is only the beginning, for it makes no pretensions to being a definitive work on all the aspects of that memorable campaign. Coming to the task with proficiency in the field of church history, the author has difficulty in fitting the religious issue into the larger political picture. Although Alfred Smith's religious affiliation was impor-

tant in the 1928 decision, there is no evidence that it was the most important factor. The urban-rural sentiment, Prohibition, Tammany, and the old stock fear of losing political control to the newer immigrant classes were all important issues in the campaign.

The author secured interviews with several prominent figures of that campaign, including Bernard Baruch, James A. Farley, Walter Lippmann, and Herbert Bayard Swope. This material represents a distinct contribution to the literature of the clash. But Moore has not consulted the materials at the crossroads of America. He presents the views current in New York and the megalopolis of the Eastern seaboard, but he ignores the more basic materials to be found in the little country newspapers of rural America. Why did the country folk of all sections react unfavorably to Smith's candidacy? There is doubt that Smith's religion was more a handicap than his "sidewalks-of-New York" perspective on American agriculture.

Moore is a militant defender of religious tolerance in American political democracy, but his convictions are so strong as to make him intolerant of intolerance. To illustrate, he writes: "The campaign to defeat Smith early assumed a character which cannot be recalled without shame." Again, commenting upon Mrs. Mabel Willebrandt's contention that her appeals to Protestant groups to support Herbert Clark Hoover did not necessarily inject the religious issue into the campaign, the author commented: "Many felt that her denials had no substantive merit."

The perspective of this study is not that of the definitive work that will certainly appear in the future. But much

of the material presented here will be of fundamental value to the author of that future study. In summary, it must be said that Moore's work is the product of sincerity and of an idealistic appreciation of democracy, and is a valuable contribution to the literature of the 1928 election campaign.

Cortez A. M. Ewing
University of Oklahoma

ROGER HILSMAN: *Strategic Intelligence and National Decisions*. Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1956. 187 pages. \$4.00.

This is a thoughtful and provocative analysis. For those who are aware of the important and relevant factors that the author ignores, it is valuable in diagnosing major weaknesses of intelligence doctrine and practice. However, for those unfamiliar with the over-all aspect of intelligence, it could be seriously misleading.

A major problem of intelligence, as Hilsman recognizes, is to ensure its effective use in the making of policy and the conduct of operations. However, this problem is not, as he indicates, neglected. Nor can it be effectively solved, as he urges, by having every policy-maker and operator provide his own intelligence. Not all men have time, and fewer the capability, to be their own plumber. When they try, the results are frequently deplorable. Intelligence, though the author appears not to think so, requires as much time—and perhaps as much specialized talent—as plumbing.

One hopes that Hilsman is consciously indulging in satire when he reports his interviews with government func-

tionaries. At any rate, his presentation makes us uncomfortable. Perhaps the shoe fits!

That the book ignores military intelligence is regrettable, for it is here that there has been some of the most effective integration of intelligence with policy and operations. For example, intelligence of specific foreign technical capabilities to design, develop, and produce air weapons has, at every stage, rigorously conditioned our own efforts, from the inception of general operational requirements, through research and development, to the formulation of strategic and tactical concepts of use.

Saddest of all: Hilsman spurns the spy as the relic of a more romantic day. But he is wrong. The records show that the place of espionage in military intelligence is still an indispensable one. The shadow of E. Phillips Oppenheim still falls, albeit somewhat foreshortened, over intelligence.

To cavil thus over the faults of Hilsman's book is worse than unkind. It is misleading. For he has done all of us who are concerned with national decisions, and especially those of us in intelligence, a considerable service by focusing a light of unusual penetration on the process by which information is absorbed into decision-making.

[Opinions expressed in this review are those of the reviewer and do not necessarily represent those of the United States Air Force—EDITOR]

Spencer Whedon
Dayton, Ohio

GEORGE WOODCOCK: *Pierre Joseph Proudhon*. New York, The Macmil-

lan Company, 1956. 286 pages. \$5.75.

Woodcock offers us a straightforward and workman-like biography of one of the leading socialist thinkers of nineteenth-century France. One must use the term "socialist" advisedly when referring to Proudhon, for his doctrine was actually one of anarchism and mutualism, in opposition on almost every point to the "socialist" concept of Marx and his followers. Proudhon's influence was strongest among the French and Spanish workers, and, though his doctrines were overshadowed internationally by the Marxists, his views continue to find expression in the anarchical-syndicalist movements of today. The portrait that emerges from Woodcock's book is one of a self-educated man whose opinions and theories never escaped the peasant bias of his origin. He was a man, by nature kindly and almost puritanically moral, who concealed his real humanism under a cloak of arrogance and suspicion; a writer who never could compress once he commenced composition and whose works therefore proliferate to the point of contradiction and prolixity; above all, an observer of his times who shrewdly foresaw the shape of things to come and warned against the incipient authoritarianism of Marx, the Caesarism of Napoleon III, the fallacy of majority rule, and the reactionary character of integral nationalism.

Indeed, it is perhaps more for these insights into the tendencies of his times than in his actual economic and social doctrines that Proudhon merits his place in history. He stands at the watershed between authoritarian socialism, which was to triumph, and liberal so-

cialism, with its stress on justice and liberty, which was to go down to defeat. The consequences of the Marxist victory, however, have made men today less sure of the validity of its assumptions and more inclined to examine again the alternate thesis as espoused by Proudhon. The publication of his biography at this time is opportune. The author also spikes certain other misinterpretations of Proudhon, such as his alleged ignorance of Hegel prior to his brief contact with Marx, and the assertion that he was willing to sell out the radical movement to Prince Jerome Bonaparte in 1861.

Most of the source material on Proudhon is in French, and Woodcock has admirably used and summarized the available materials. He has done even more than this, for he has produced that rarest of rare birds—an interesting and informative book. One cannot read it without coming to like, as well as to understand, Proudhon and through him to sense the tensions and drama implicit in the growth of social radicalism in nineteenth-century France. Radicalism, so long dominated by the spirit of the Red Prussian, deserves this re-examination of its beginnings in terms of the prophet of Franche-Comté.

H. Malcolm Macdonald
University of Texas

ROY FRANKLIN BARTON: *The Mythology of the Ifugaos*: Philadelphia, American Folklore Society, 1955. 244 pages.

This volume presents the ritual myths of the Ifugao—the largest of the pagan

groups in northern Luzon of the Philippines. Gathered by the author during his eight years of residence among that people, the myths are distinctive in two respects: they were recorded in text by a man well-versed in the language, and they are presented in their functional setting.

Ifugao myths are used as ritual, as opposed to the folk tales, which are for diversion. The myth is accepted as true and hence bolsters "the frame-work of the culture and its concept of the world." During the ceremonies the ancestral spirits are invoked, wine is offered through the bodies of the priests, then a priest indicates the categories of deities to be called upon for the particular occasion. At this point a number of priests, possessed by the spirits, begin the recital of the myths in unison, each speaking only to a certain class of the deities involved.

The myth relates the experiences of a hero ancestor who in the past was confronted with problems like those of the present. The recitation is an act of ritual magic, for it serves to compel the attendance at the ceremony of the principal actors in the myth, or to force the presence of the power that the myth relates.

Myths are concerned with war, sorcery, agriculture, prestige, marriage, peace-making, and other major events of Ifugao life. They are analyzed and discussed by the author. Some are written in the Ifugao language with parallel English translation. The analysis of all for form, style, and literary attributes furnishes the reader an unusual appreciation of native literature.

Mabel Cook Cole
Santa Barbara, California

Other Books Received

March, 1957

- Alexander, Ralph S., James S. Cross, and Ross M. Cunningham: *Industrial Marketing*. Homewood, Illinois, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1956. 590 pages. \$6.00.
- American History Bibliography*, Albany, New York State Education Department, Bureau of Secondary Curriculum Development, 1956. 112 pages.
- The American Workers' Fact Book*. Washington, D.C., United States Department of Labor, 1956. 433 pages. \$1.50.
- Arbingast, Stanley A., and Ray Akin, Jr.: *Texas Industrial Expansion*, Vol. VI, No. 3. Austin, Texas, University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, 1956. 29 pages.
- Barton, Sam B.: *How Texas Cares for Her Injured Workers*. Denton, Texas, North Texas State College, 1956. 81 pages.
- Bibliography on Texas Government—1956 Supplement*. Public Affairs Series No. 27. Austin, Texas, University of Texas, Institute of Public Affairs, 1956. 49 pages. \$.75.
- Butcher, Walt: *Presidential Election Returns for Kansas, 1864–1952*, Vol. 5, No. 1. Emporia, Kansas, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia State Research Studies, 1956. 78 pages.
- Giles, H. Harry: *Education and Human Motivation*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1957. 108 pages. \$3.00.
- Green, Asa N., and Robert T. Daland: *Revenues for Alabama's Cities*. University, Alabama, University of Alabama, Bureau of Public Administration; and Montgomery, Alabama, Alabama League of Municipalities, 1956. 85 pages.
- The Grievance Process: Proceedings of a Conference, March 23–24, 1956*. East Lansing, Michigan, Michigan State University, Labor and Industrial Relations Center, Kellogg Center, 1956. 102 pages.
- Grip, John P.: *Sexuality, Love and Immorality*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1956. 121 pages. \$3.50.
- Guild, Frederic H.: *Legislative Procedure in Kansas*. Lawrence, Kansas, University of Kansas, Governmental Research Center, 1956. 75 pages.
- Kansas Voter's Guide 1956: Part II*. Citizen's Pamphlet Series No. 19. Lawrence, Kansas, University of Kansas, Governmental Research Center, 1956. 43 pages.
- Kirkpatrick, Evron M. (ed.): *Target: The World: Communist Propaganda Activities in 1955*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1956. 362 pages. \$5.00.
- Lowie, Robert H.: *The Crow Indians*. Reissue. New York, Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1956. 350 pages. \$3.00.
- McDonald, James T.: *County Finance in Kansas, 1952–1954*. Fiscal Information Series No. 6. Lawrence, Kansas, University of Kansas, Governmental Research Center, 1956. 28 pages.
- Owen, Henry T.: *A Manual of Life*,

- Accident, and Sickness Insurance.* Business Guide No. 7. Austin, University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, 1956. 65 pages. \$1.00.
- Owen, John P.: *What's Wrong with Workmen's Compensation.* Houston Studies in Business and Economics No. 4. Houston, Texas, University of Houston, College of Business Administration, Bureau of Business and Economic Research, 1956. 98 pages. \$1.00.
- Rehabilitation of the Handicapped.* Research Publication No. 44. Frankfort, Kentucky, Legislative Research Commission, Commonwealth of Kentucky, 1956. 43 pages.
- Services of the Hogg Foundation for Mental Hygiene.* Austin, Texas, University of Texas, 1955. 8 pages.
- Simpson, George Lee, Jr.: *The Cokers of Carolina: A Social Biography of a Family.* Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1956. 327 pages. \$5.00.
- Syllabus in Latin.* Albany, New York, New York State Education Department, Bureau of Secondary Curriculum Development, 1956. 132 pages.
- Tenth Annual Peace Officers Training School: A Report.* Lawrence, Kansas, University of Kansas, Governmental Research Center, 1956. 93 pages.
- Texas Legislative Council: *Guide to Texas State Agencies.* Public Affairs Series No. 28. Austin, University of Texas, Institute of Public Affairs, 1956. 273 pages. \$1.50.
- Wasser, Henry: *The Scientific Thought of Henry Adams.* Thessaloniki, Greece, N. Nicolaides, 1956. 127 pages.
- Winick, Charles: *Dictionary of Anthropology.* New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1956. 579 pages. \$10.00.

Annual Convention Preliminary Program

The Southwestern Social Science Association, Friday and Saturday, April 19-20, 1957. *General Headquarters:* Hotel Adolphus, Dallas, Texas

Thursday Evening, April 18

Meeting of the Executive Council of the Southwestern Social Science Association, 8:30 P.M. *Parlor C*

Friday Morning, April 19

ACCOUNTING SECTION

Friday, 9:00 A.M.

Parlor C

Chairman: George B. McCowen, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College

1. "Accounting Applications on a Univac File Computer," Henry R. Malinowski, Univac, Division of Sperry Rand Corporation
Discussion: I. E. McNeill, University of Houston
2. "More Air Force Per Dollar," Carl E. Dillon, Boeing Airplane Company
Discussion: G. W. Fair, Louisiana State University

AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS SECTION

Friday, 8:30 A.M.

Parlor B

Chairman: B. M. Gile, Louisiana State University

General Topic: "Economic Development and Agriculture"

1. "Peculiarities of Our Agricultural Industry," Fred O. Sargent, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College
Discussion: J. F. Hudson, Louisiana State University
2. "Theory of Economic Development

—A Review," R. B. Hughes, University of Arkansas

Discussion: Leigh H. Hammond, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College

Discussion: Ray V. Billingsley, Texas Technological College

3. "The Point-Four Program—An Evaluation," Randall T. Klemme, Oklahoma State Department of Commerce and Industry

Discussion: *To be announced*

BUREAU OF BUSINESS RESEARCH SECTION

Friday, 9:00 A.M.

North Room

Joint meeting with Business Administration Section

Program to be arranged

BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION SECTION

Friday, 9:00 A.M.

North Room

Joint meeting with Business Research Section

ECONOMICS SECTION

Friday, 8:30 A.M.

Parlor G

Chairman: William D. Ross, Louisiana State University

1. "Some Administrative Problems of Workmen's Compensation in Texas," Sam B. Barton, North Texas State College
Questions from the floor
2. "India's Current Economic Problems and the Second Five-Year Plan,"

Arthur A. Wichmann, University of
Wichita

Questions from the floor

3. "Implications of the Experiences with the National-Emergency Provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act: Special Attention to the Recent ILA Strike," Marjorie Brookshire, San Diego State College
Discussion: E. E. Liebhafsky, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College
Questions from the floor
4. "A Consideration of Some of the Theoretical Attacks upon Progressive Taxation," Gene Erion, Western State College of Colorado
Discussion: Warren A. Law, Southern Methodist University
Questions from the floor

GEOGRAPHY SECTION

Friday, 8:30 A.M.

Parlor E

Chairman: Walter Hansen, North Texas State College

General Topic: "Economic Geography"

1. "The Water Supply of Dallas," George P. Vose, Southern Methodist University and Texas State College for Women
2. "Some Recent Changes in Tulsa Industry," Carol Y. Mason, University of Tulsa
3. "The Balcones Escarpment: Line of Demarcation," Stanley A. Arbingast, University of Texas
4. Discussion: *To be announced*

Friday, 10:15 A.M.

Chairman: *To be announced*

General Topic: "Plant Geography"

1. "The Panamanian Savanna," Robert H. Fuson, Louisiana State University
2. "Vegetation Islands of Central Oklahoma," Arthur H. Doerr, University of Oklahoma

3. "Louisiana Citrus and Natural Hazards," Sanford H. Bederman, Louisiana State University

4. Discussion: George W. Schlesselman, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College

GOVERNMENT SECTION

Friday, 9:00 A.M.

Danish Room

Chairman: Sam B. McAlister, North Texas State College

General Topic: "The Politics of Judicial Review: 1937-1957"

1. "The Protection of Civil Rights," Thornton C. Sinclair, University of Houston
2. "The Protection of Economic Interests," Sam Krislov, University of Oklahoma
3. "The Court and Public Opinion," Lloyd M. Wells, Southern Methodist University
4. Discussion: J. William Davis, Texas Technological College

HISTORY SECTION

Friday, 9:00 A.M.

French Room

Chairman: Gordon H. McNeil, University of Arkansas

General Topic: "European History"

1. "Mixed Government in England and America," Corinne Comstock Weston, University of Houston
2. "Gambetta, Juliette Adam, and the Idea of a Franco-Russian Alliance," Joseph O. Baylen, Delta State Teachers College
3. "Hjalmar Schacht," Amos E. Simpson, Southwestern Louisiana Institute
4. Discussion: William H. Nelson, Rice Institute; Ralph Lynn, Baylor University; Hans Pitsch, Turbingen, Germany

ANNUAL CONVENTION PROGRAM

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SOCIOLOGY SECTION

Friday, 8:30 A.M. *Ballroom*

Chairman: Oliver R. Whitley, Iliff School of Theology

General Topic: "Sociology of the Family"

1. "Emerging Democratic Role and Authority Pattern in Urban Middle-Class Two-Income Families," Everett D. Dyer, University of Houston
2. "Family Social Status, Adolescent Anxieties, and Neighborhood Social Status," Leonard G. Benson, North Texas State College
3. "The Kinship System of Lolo," Ju Shu Pan, Paul Quinn College
4. "Variations in Adjustment of Families to Tornado Disaster Situations," Fred R. Crawford, Texas Technological College
5. "A Study of the Organizational Participation of High School Students and Their Parents," A. Lewis Rhodes, Vanderbilt University

Friday, 10:00 A.M. Business meeting

Friday, 10:30 A.M. *Ballroom*

Chairman: Franz Adler, University of Arkansas

General Topic: "Sociology of Knowledge and Religion"

1. "Obscurities in Some Basic Concepts of the Sociology of Knowledge," Ivan L. Little, Texas Technological College
2. "The Functional Approach: Some Implications for the Study of Religion," Oliver R. Whitley, Iliff School of Theology
3. "Elements of a Sociology of Ideas in the Saint-Simonian Philosophy of History," George Iggers, Philander Smith College
4. "Societal Restrictions upon the Re-

search Process," Gideon Sjoberg, University of Texas

5. Discussion: Bruce Pringle, Southern Methodist University

STUDENT SOCIOLOGY SECTION

Friday, 9:00 A.M. *Sample Room*
To be announced

Friday luncheons

ACCOUNTING LUNCHEON

12:00 Noon *Ball Room*

Chairman: John A. White, University of Texas

Address: "Some Common Misconceptions Relating to Accounting Education," C. A. Moyer, University of Illinois, president, American Accounting Association

GEOGRAPHY LUNCHEON

12:00 Noon *Parlor E*

Chairman: Fred Kniffen, Louisiana State University

Business meeting

GENERAL EDUCATION IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES: THE INTRODUCTORY COURSE LUNCHEON

12:30 P.M. *Parlor G*

Chairman: Marion B. Smith, Louisiana State University

Address: "The Role of Social Science in General Education," John W. Kidd, director of Special Education, Northwestern State College of Louisiana
Discussion from the floor

Friday Afternoon, April 19

ACCOUNTING SECTION

Friday, 1:30 P.M. *Parlor C*

Chairman: Paul J. Graber, University of Tulsa

1. "Misleading Accounting," Herbert E. Miller, University of Michigan
Discussion: Nolan E. Williams, University of Arkansas
2. "The Internal Auditing Course in the Accounting Curriculum," Robert H. Van Voorhis, Louisiana State University
Discussion: Earl Clevenger, Abilene Christian College

AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS SECTION
Friday, 1:30 P.M. *Parlor B*
Chairman: To be announced

General Topic: "Adjustments in Agriculture in Face of an Abundant Productive Capacity"

1. "Agricultural Surpluses — Problem or Opportunity," *to be announced*
Discussion: Hilliard Jackson, University of Arkansas
Discussion: William L. Dorries, East Texas State Teachers College
2. "Disequilibrium in Agricultural Resource Use, with Particular Reference to the Low-Income Problem," William B. Back, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College
Discussion: John H. Southern, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College
3. "Economics of Surplus Disposal," E. J. R. Booth, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College
Discussion: James W. Bennett, Texas Technological College

BUREAU OF BUSINESS RESEARCH
SECTION

Friday, 1:30 P.M. *Cactus Room*

1. "Operations Research and Business Decisions," John E. Hodges, economist-director, Operations Research, Hughes Tool Company
2. "Applications of Economic Research to Federal Reserve Policy Decisions,"

P. E. Coldwell, director of Research, Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas

BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION SECTION
Friday, 1:30 P.M. *North Room*
Chairman: Burl Hubbard, Texas Technological College

1. "Business Alternatives to Discriminatory Pricing," Eli P. Cox, Jr., North Texas State College
2. "A Tourist-Eye View of European Retail Stores," Minnie B. Tracey, Louisiana Polytechnic Institute
3. "Service-Station Site Selection," Paul Hastings, Texas Christian University
4. "A Case Study in Management Methods and Business Growth," Justin G. Longenecker, Baylor University
5. "Determining the Market for Housing in Dallas," Jerry Drake, Southern Methodist University
6. "Interrelationships between the Functions of Management," Gilbert Blythewood, Louisiana State University
7. Discussion: "Developments and Changes in the Business Curriculum"

ECONOMICS SECTION

Friday, 2:00 P.M. *Parlor G*
Chairman: Alfred F. Chalk, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College

1. "The Approaching Crisis in Our Utilization of Water Resources," Clay L. Cochran, National Rural Electric Co-operative Association
Discussion: Paul T. Hendershot, Louisiana Polytechnic Institute
Questions from the floor
2. "Change in Tax-Depreciation Policy and Public Regulation of Business," Dwight S. Brothers, Rice Institute
Discussion: William B. Keeling, Trinity University
Questions from the floor

3. "The Folklore of Institutional Economics," Jack E. Robertson, Tulane University
Discussion: C. E. Ayres, University of Texas
Questions from the floor

Friday, 4:30 P.M. Business meeting

GEOGRAPHY SECTION

Friday, 2:00 P.M. *Parlor E*

Chairman: To be announced

General Topic: "Geographic Education"

1. "An Analysis of Some of the Problems of Teaching Public-School Geography," June Hyer, University of Houston
2. "Geographic Education in Texas: Status and Possibilities," Lorrin Kenamer, University of Texas
3. Discussion: John W. Morris, University of Oklahoma

Friday, 3:15 P.M.

Chairman: To be announced

General Topic: "Historical Geography"

1. "Pioneer Sweetenings in Eastern North America," D. Noel Brooks, Louisiana State University
2. "When and Where Were the First Petroleum Wells? A Footnote to Historical Economic Geography," Donald D. Brand, University of Texas
3. Discussion: *To be announced*

GOVERNMENT SECTION

Friday, 2:00 P.M. *Danish Room*

Chairman: Comer Clay, Texas Christian University

General Topic: "International Involvements in the Middle East"

1. "The Historical Background," Paul Geren, Baylor University

2. "The Arab Position," John Paul Duncan, University of Oklahoma
3. "The Anglo - French Position," Robert F. Smith, Southern Methodist University
4. "The Russian Position," Edward Taborsky, University of Texas
5. "The United States Position," Harold K. Jacobson, University of Houston
6. Discussion: Ralph A. Smith, Abilene Christian College

HISTORY SECTION

Friday, 2:00 P.M. *French Room*

Chairman: John Payne, Jr., Sam Houston State College

General Topic: "American History"

1. "Civilizing by Badge and Pistol: The Indian Agency Police," Tom Hagan, North Texas State College
2. "Race Legislation in Louisiana after the Civil War," Germaine Memelo, Louisiana State University
3. "Vice and Law Enforcement in New Orleans, 1900-1920," Robert W. Williams, Jr., Lamar State College of Technology
4. Discussion: Edmund T. Peckham; Rice Institution; George R. Woolfolk, Prairie View Agricultural and Mechanical College; Richard D. Younger, University of Houston

SOCIOLOGY SECTION

Friday, 1:30 P.M. *Ballroom*

Chairman: E. Gartly Jaco, University of Texas Medical Branch

General Topic: "Sociology of Health"

1. "The Occupational Career of the Married Hospital Nurse," Donald D. Stewart, University of Arkansas
2. "The Seriousness of Disease," Lyle Saunders and Julian Samora, University of Colorado Medical Center

3. "The Role of Sociology in Medical Education," Samuel W. Bloom, Baylor University College of Medicine
4. Discussion: Warren S. Williams, M.D., University of Texas Medical Branch

Friday, 3:00 P.M. *Ballroom*

Chairman: Warren Breed, Tulane University

General Topic: "Public Opinion and Communication"

1. "A Thematic Approach to News," Arch Napier, free-lance news correspondent
2. "Recent Trends in Public Opinion," Frederick C. Irion, University of New Mexico
3. "Political Propaganda and Public Opinion in England during the Formative Period of the Two-Party System (1688-1720)," Francis G. James, Tulane University

STUDENT SOCIOLOGY SECTION

Friday, 2:00 P.M. *Sample Room*

To be announced

Friday Evening, April 19

CONFERENCE DINNER

7:00 P.M. *Cactus Room*

Presiding: J. William Davis, first vice-president, Texas Technological College

President's Address: O. J. Curry, North Texas State College

Conference Address: Ralph T. Green, director, Texas Commission on Higher Education

Saturday Morning, April 20

General business meeting

Saturday, 8:00 A.M. *Roof Garden*

Executive business meeting

Saturday, 9:00 A.M. *Roof Garden*

ACCOUNTING SECTION

Saturday, 9:00 A.M.

Parlor C

Chairman: Harold Smolinski, Louisiana Polytechnic Institute

1. "Observations on the Report of AIA's Commission on Education and Experience for Certified Public Accountants," Thomas Leland, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College
Discussion: Haskell Taylor, Texas Technological College
2. "The Five-Year Program for Accountants, Revisited," C. Aubrey Smith, University of Texas
Discussion: Horace Brock, North Texas State College

AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS SECTION

Saturday, 8:30 A.M.

Parlor B

Chairman: R. L. Hunt, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College

General Topic: "Reappraisal of Research Techniques and Accomplishments"

1. "Appraisal of Marketing Research under the Marketing Act of 1946—A Panel"

Moderator: John G. McNeely, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College
M. D. Woodin, Louisiana State University

H. J. Meenen, University of Arkansas

Alvin B. Wooten, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College

2. "Appraisal of Recent Production Economics Research—A Panel"

Moderator: Fred H. Wiegmann, Louisiana State University

James S. Plaxico, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College

Troy Mullins, University of Arkansas

Archie Leonard, Texas Technological College

Cecil A. Parker, Texas Agricultural
and Mechanical College

BUREAU OF BUSINESS RESEARCH SECTION

Saturday, 9:00 A.M. *Cactus Room*

1. "Current Business-Research Activities in Arkansas," Merwin G. Bridenstine, University of Arkansas
2. "Current Business-Research Activities in Louisiana," P. F. Boyer, Louisiana State University
3. "Current Business-Research Activities in New Mexico," Ralph L. Edgel, University of New Mexico
4. "Current Business-Research Activities in Oklahoma," Francis R. Cella, University of Oklahoma
5. "Current Business-Research Activities in Texas," John R. Stockton, University of Texas
6. "Current Business-Research Activities in the Houston Area," Paul Rigby, University of Houston
7. "Current Business-Research Activities of the Southwest Research Institute," Lawrence J. Tidrick, Department of Industrial Economics, Southwest Research Institute

BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION SECTION

No session

ECONOMICS SECTION

Saturday, 9:00 A.M. *Parlor G*

Chairman: Virginia B. Sloan, New Mexico Highlands University

1. "Keynesian Economics in the Stream of Economic Thought," H. L. McCracken, Louisiana State University
Discussion: Murray E. Polakoff, University of Texas
2. "The Impact of the \$1.00 Minimum Wage on 136 Oklahoma Firms," Paul A. Brinker, University of Oklahoma

Discussion: E. F. Patterson, University of Alabama

Questions from the floor

3. "Monetary and Fiscal Policy and the Capital - Accumulation Problem," Richard B. Johnson, Southern Methodist University

Discussion: Burke A. Parsons, Texas College of Arts and Industries

Questions from the floor

GEOGRAPHY SECTION

Saturday, 9:00 A.M. *Parlor E*

Field trip: Dallas vicinity, auspices Geography Department, Southern Methodist University

GOVERNMENT SECTION

Saturday, 9:00 A.M. *Danish Room*

Chairman: Granville W. Moore, Greater Dallas Planning Council

General Topic: "The Metropolitan Problem"

1. "The Problem of Government in Metropolitan Areas," Lee S. Greene, University of Tennessee
2. "Approaches to Solving the Metropolitan Problem in Oklahoma," J. Lee Rogers, University of Oklahoma
3. "Approaches to Solving the Metropolitan Problem in Kansas," John G. Grumm, University of Kansas
4. "Approaches to Solving the Metropolitan Problem in Texas," Wilbourn E. Benton, University of Houston
5. "Approaches to Solving the Metropolitan Problem in New Mexico," Frederick C. Irion, University of New Mexico
6. Discussion: Alvah P. Cagle, Baylor University

HISTORY SECTION

Saturday, 9:00 A.M. *No Session*

SOCIOLOGY SECTION

Saturday, 9:00 A.M. *Ballroom**Chairman:* Sandor Kovacs, University of Tulsa*General Topic:* "Social Theory"

1. "Ritual in Secular and Religious Groups," Benton Johnson, University of Oregon
2. "Recent Trends in Anthropological Theory," Fred Voget, University of Arkansas
3. "Concepts in the Introductory Course," Morton King and Bruce Pringle, Southern Methodist University

Saturday, 10:15 A.M. *Ballroom**Chairman:* Carl Rosenquist, University of Texas*General Topic:* "Demography and Ecology"

1. "Origin of the Pioneer Population of the North Central Louisiana Hill Country," Robert O. Trout, Louisiana Polytechnic Institute
2. "Demographic Characteristics of the Low Farm-Income Region of Texas," R. L. Skrabanek, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College

3. Discussion: Byron Munson, North Texas State College

Saturday, 11:15 A.M.

Business meeting

BACK NUMBERS
WANTED

We have orders for the issues of the *Quarterly* listed below, but for which no copies are available at the Association or Editorial offices:

Vol. VI, No. 3, Dec., 1925
 Vol. XXII, No. 4, March, 1942
 Vol. XXVII, No. 2, Sept., 1946
 Vol. XXXV, No. 1, June, 1954
 Vol. XIII, No. 2, Sept., 1932
 Vol. XXVII, No. 1, June, 1946
 Vol. XXXIV, No. 3, Dec., 1953

Members of the Association, or others, having copies of these issues which they are willing to sell at \$1.00 per copy will render a real service by sending them to:

Harry Estill Moore
Editor

News and Notes

Accounting

GILFORD COX has accepted a position as assistant professor of accounting, Texas Technological College.

RAYMOND GREEN has been named instructor in accounting, Texas Technological College.

FRED NORWOOD, formerly professor of accounting at Texas Technological College, has resigned to accept employment with Peat, Marwick, Mitchell and Company, Dallas, Texas.

RALPH S. SANTHIN has been appointed instructor in accounting, Tulane University.

Anthropology

BAYLOR UNIVERSITY announces the addition of a course in cultural anthropology, to be given for the first time during the winter term. Given under PAUL B. WILSON, new faculty member, the course will be on the undergraduate level and will be included among the courses in the Department of Sociology, according to the announcement by CHARLES D. JOHNSON, chairman.

D. FRED WENDORF has accepted appointment as associate professor of anthropology and assistant director of the Museum, Texas Technological College.

Business Administration

RICHARD C. BERNARD JR., has accepted appointment as instructor in marketing, Tulane University.

PAUL V. GRAMBSCH has been promoted from acting dean to dean, School of Business Administration, Tulane University.

RICHARD W. GRAVES has resigned as assistant professor of statistics, Tulane University.

SYDNEY C. REAGAN, Southern Methodist University, has been appointed a member of the Task Group of Oilseeds and Animal Fats of the President's Bipartisan Commission on Increased Industrial Use of Agricultural Products.

ELSIE M. WATTERS has joined the School of Administration, Tulane University, as assistant professor of statistics.

Economics

JOSEPH A. HASSON has been appointed assistant professor of economics, Tulane University.

PATRICIA MAY has accepted work as part-time instructor in economics, Tulane University.

GILBERT M. MELLIN has resigned as assistant professor of economics, Tulane University.

ESME PRESTON is a visiting lecturer in economics, Tulane University.

RAYMOND W. RITLAND has resigned as assistant professor of economics, Tulane University.

JACK E. ROBERTSON has been appointed instructor in economics, Tulane University.

HOWARD G. SCHALLER, formerly acting chairman of the Department of Economics, Tulane University, has become chairman.

GERALD E. WARREN, professor of economics, Tulane University, has been granted a leave of absence to accept assignment as assistant director for

Economic Development, U.S. Mission to Taiwan, with the U.S. State Department.

History

HARRY DELARUE has accepted appointment as assistant professor of history, Texas Technological College.

MERTON LYNN DILLON has been appointed assistant professor of history, Texas Technological College.

THOMAS G. MANNING has been appointed assistant professor of history, Texas Technological College.

Philosophy

GEORGE L. NUCKOLLS has retired as professor of philosophy, Western State College of Colorado.

Sociology

INSTITUTE OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, University of Oklahoma, lists among recent research the following:

Completion of a study of socioeconomic conditions among Oklahoma Indians for the U.S. Public Health Service, by LEONARD LOGAN, RICHARD CHUCULATE, and REED POWELL.

Preparation of a survival study plan for the Federal Civil Defense Administration, under the direction of LEONARD LOGAN, JOHN MORRIS, and LEE ROGERS.

A study of the vocational interests of city-planners, by LEONARD LOGAN and JOHN MORRIS, JR.

Completion of land use, popula-

tion distribution, and traffic studies for various Oklahoma cities, under the direction of LEONARD LOGAN, J. L. ROGERS, and ROBERT L. LEHR.

IVAN BELKNAP, associate professor, Department of Sociology, University of Texas, has been awarded a five-year research grant by the U.S. Public Health Service. Research conducted under this grant will compare general hospital organization in two Texas communities. WAYNE GILBERT and ROBERT ANDERSON are research assistants in the project. The hospital community study is being conducted in collaboration with similar projects at the University of Michigan and the University of Colorado School of Medicine.

NORMAN R. JACKMAN, who received a Ph.D. degree from the University of California in 1955, has been appointed assistant professor in sociology, University of Oklahoma.

JAMES W. MARTIN has joined the staff of the Department of Sociology, University of Oklahoma, as an instructor for 1956-57.

Of General Interest

Revista de Ciencias Sociales is a new social science journal announced by the University of Puerto Rico. Original articles and book reviews will be used, along with summarizations of articles appearing in other journals. Publication will be in Spanish. The first issue is scheduled to appear in March, 1957. Raul Serrano Geyls is editor.

Announcing—for Spring Publication!

Government by the People, 3rd Edition

by JAMES M. BURNS, Williams College, and JACK W. PELTASON, University of Illinois

Completely revised and up-dated, the new 3rd Edition of this popular text offers your students • *Thorough analysis of the Eisenhower administration, policies and legislation* • *Complete coverage of the 1956 election* • Ramifications of the Supreme Court's decision on segregation • Expanded section on the Presidency and Congress • New material on political parties, with greater emphasis on state and local levels • Complete summary at end of each section

A National-State-Local Edition will be available presenting all the material of the National Edition plus additional chapters on state and local government.

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by ROBERT E. LANE, Yale University

Featuring new material on the controversy over natural gas, desegregation, proportional representation, loyalty oaths, and farm policy, this new 2nd Edition explores, dramatizes, and interprets significant political events and their relationship to government in action. Your students learn to think creatively by applying theory to cases drawn from real-life political situations.

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RONALD Books

International Migrations

DONALD R. TAFT, *University of Illinois*; and
RICHARD ROBBINS, *Wellesley College*

Timely analysis of human migration from an international point of view, in terms of population growth, conflict of economic interests, political rivalries, and the interaction of national and sub-group cultures. "*Important, timely, and scholarly . . . a book which ought to be familiar to every sociologist.*" BREWTON BERRY, *The Ohio State University*. 42 ills., tables; 670 pp. \$7

Criminology

ROBERT G. CALDWELL, *State University of Iowa*

This perceptive textbook offers a systematic introduction to the complex problems of crime and delinquency, their cause and treatment. Presenting a many-sided approach, it stresses the individual as well as the group, and underscores the responsibilities of citizens and experts. "*. . . comprehensive, readable, scholarly.*" BUTLER A. JONES, *Ohio Wesleyan University*. 38 ills., tables; 749 pp. \$6.50

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